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ABSTRACT

In 1994, the government of Indonesia began to provide universal education for at least 9 years' duration. Enrollment rates of children aged 7 to 12 years rose to about 90 percent. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that many children may not be able to participate fully in schools because of work or other reasons. This book presents an outline of a study of educational programs for disadvantaged youth managed and delivered by government institutions and by private organizations. The report includes an overview of each of the programs run by the Indonesian government and examples of best practices from private organizations. The report also discusses such issues as certification, linkages, and national legislation, and the challenges these issues pose. Following an introduction (Section 1), the report contains five additional sections: (2) "Characteristics of the Young Disadvantaged in Indonesia"; (3) "The Impacts of the Current Crisis on Education"; (4) "Strategies for the Young Disadvantaged: The Roles Played by Different Stakeholders"; (5) "Trends and Challenges in Providing Alternative Education for the Young Disadvantaged"; and (6) "Concluding Remarks: Reconstructing Alternative Education." (Contains 32 references, 20 tables, and 4 boxes.) (WFA)

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International Institute for Educational Planning

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for disadvantaged groups

Alternative education for disadvantaged youth in Indonesia

Pak Irwanto
Agustina Hendriati
Yohana Ratrin Hestyanti

International Institute for Educational Planning
3

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GLOSSARY

APBN
Anggaran Pendapatan and Belanja Negara (National Budget)

ADB
Asian Development Bank

Base school
A regular school where teachers work full-time. On the basis of the school's capability to do extra work (i.e. OJSS or visiting teacher model), it is appointed as the base school. The base school could be an ES or a JSS, depending on the level of the alternative education under its auspice

BLK
Balai Latihan Kerja (Vocational Training Centre)

BPS
Biro Pusat Statistik (in English: CBS)

CR
Continuation Rate

CRC
Convention on the Rights of the Child

CBS/BPS
Central Bureau of Statistics/Biro Pusat Statistik

D1, D2, D3
Diploma Programme for one to three years at the College level

Depnaker
Ministry of Manpower

DHS
Demography and Health Survey

ES
Elementary/Primary School

ES/JSS equivalent examination.
Final examination to be taken by prospective graduates of any kinds of alternative education excluding OJSS (respective to its level, ES or JSS), set as an entrance to the mainstream system. The differences compared to the national final examination/general examination (EBTANAS – Evaluasi Belajar Tahap Akhir Nasional) are the target with all its consequences (questions, time, level of difficulty, etc.), the existence of a nationally standardized GPA and the authority in charge (equivalent examination is

under the responsibility of Dinas P&K, within the territory of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; whereas the EBTANAS is under the responsibility of MOEC q.q. Directorate of Dikdasmen and Kanwil P&K). The new system in which Paket A and B students get a particular certificate is a different system, which is under the responsibility of the Directorate of Dikmas, MOEC

GDP
Gross Domestic Product

GOI
Government of Indonesia

GRR
Gross Retention Ratio

HIV/AIDS
Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

IDT
Inpres Desa Tertinggal, a national poverty alleviation programme initiated in 1993, intended to help poor people in villages which are 'left behind' (*desa tertinggal*) in the first long-term Development Plan (1969-1994)

IEP
Illiteracy Eradication programme

ILO/IPEC
International Labour Organisation/International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

JSS/SLTP
Junior Secondary School/Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama

Kanwil P&K
Kantor Wilayah Pendidikan & Kebudayaan (provincial office of MOEC)

KBU
Kelompok Belajar Usaha (entrepreneurship/micro-business study group)

Kejar Paket A & B
Kelompok belajar Paket A & B (study group package A & B). See also Package A & B

KKSP
Kelompok Kajian Sosial Perkotaan (a Medan-based NGO)

KLK
Kursus Latihan Kerja (Vocational Training Course)

Kodim
Komando Distrik Militer (Military District Command)

LSM
Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat. See NGO

LPKP
Lembaga Pengkajian Kemasyarakatan dan Pembangunan (Institute for Communities and Development Studies)

MTs
Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic Junior Secondary School)

MI
Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Islamic Elementary School)

MOEC (Depdikbud)
Ministry of Education and Culture

MOM (Depnaker)
Ministry of Manpower

MOSA (Depsos)
Ministry of Social Affairs

MTU
Mobile Training Unit

NER
Net Enrolment Ratio

NGO
Non-Governmental Organization

NKT
Nara Sumber Teknis (technical resource person)

NU
Nahdlatul Ulama: an Islamic organization

OBAMA
Operasi Bakti Manunggal ABRI

OJSS
SLTP Terbuka (Open Junior Secondary School)

Package (Paket) A
A set of materials/modules used in Indonesian non-formal education programme. Paket A is equivalent to elementary school. See the text for more detailed description

Package (Paket) B
A set of materials/modules used in Indonesian non-formal education programme. Paket B is equivalent to junior secondary school. See the text for more detailed description

PACT
Private Agency Collaborating Together

PBH
Pemberantasan Buta Huruf. See IEP

Pemda
Pemerintah Daerah (provincial authority, under the Ministry of Internal Affairs)

Pesantren
Islamic boarding school

R&D
Research and Development. At the MOEC it was called the Office of Educational and Cultural Research and Development

REPELITA
Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun (the GOI 5-Year Development Plan)

RESCUE
Reaching Street Children in Urban Environment: a USAID-sponsored project

Sakernas
Survai Tenaga Kerja Nasional (National labour survey)

SD
Sekolah Dasar. See ES

SD Inpres
Presidential Instruction: the public/state ES, which developed rapidly under the presidential instruction early in the 1970s are called presidential instruction ES

SD Kecil
Basically an elementary school but with a smaller size/scale (in terms of number of students, teachers and kinds of facilities). Developed in secluded areas with smaller number of population

SLTA
Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Atas: lit. SSS, covers all types of school at this level of education, including the mainstream (SMU or Sekolah Menengah Umum) and all vocational schools at this level (STM, SMEA, etc.)

SLTP
Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama: lit. JSS, refers to all types of school at this level of education, including all former vocational schools at this level. The term is now SMP

SMP
Sekolah Menengah Pertama: see JSS

SRR
Social Rate of Return: calculated rate of return on (educational) investment on the basis of the social costs; in contrast to private rate of return, that is rate of return on (educational) investment on the basis of private costs

SSS
Senior Secondary School. See SLTA

STDs
Sexually Transmitted Diseases

STKS
Sekolah Tinggi Kesejahteraan Sosial (a 4-year Social Work College)

Susenas
Survai sosial ekonomi nasional (National socio-economic survey)

TFR
Total Fertility Rate

TKB
Tempat Kegiatan Belajar: the place for OJSS tutorial meeting

UN
United Nations

UNICEF
United Nations International Children's Fund

USAID
United States Agency for International Development

VTC
Vocational Training Centre

YAM
Yayasan Anak Merdeka (Anak Merdeka Foundation)

YBP
Yayasan Bintang Pancasila (Bintang Pancasila Foundation)

Six years' compulsory education
In 1983 the GOI launched six years' compulsory education (up to ES level)

Nine years' universal education
In 1994 the GOI launched nine years' universal education (up to JSS level)

This monograph has been written by Dr Irwanto, Agustina Hendriati and Yohana Ratrin Hestyanti, Atma Jaya Catholic University, under the leadership of Muriel Poisson, Programme Specialist, IIEP.

FOREWORD

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I. INTRODUCTION

A rich cultural heritage

Contemporary Indonesia is a modern country, although there are some pockets of very traditional and (even) ancient cultures. The national motto is *Unity Through Diversity* or *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which symbolizes the national pride in cultural diversity. Local cultures are preserved through the establishment of cultural centres around the country and through a local-content approach in the education system.

As the fourth most populous post-cold war country in the world, Indonesia is home to 200 million citizens, of which more than 300 ethnic groups speaking more than 250 Malayo-Polynesian and Papuan languages. Irian Jaya (Western part of New Guinea) and Kalimantan (Borneo), the second and third largest islands in the world, are parts of the five main islands in the archipelago, which consists of more than 13,600 islands stretching more than 5,120 kilometres along the equator.

There are three major transformations that the country has seen. After three centuries of colonialization, in 1945 the Republic of Indonesia proclaimed its independence from the Japanese and the Dutch colonial rule. The first decade after independence, however, was marked with armed struggles to maintain independence from the returning Dutch and the Allies. The Dutch finally transferred the sovereignty of the country to the newly formed government of the republic in 1949. By 28 September, 1950, Indonesia had gained full recognition from the United Nations.

In the early 1950s to the 1960s, the growing pains of the newly born nation, economically and politically, culminated in the 30 September,

1965 coup attempt, which was eventually aborted by the military – led by the then second President of Indonesia, General Suharto. The new government called itself the New Order. After 32 years of military rule, students and the civil society were able to force the New Order to hand over its power to a civil transitional government on 19 May, 1998. After ruling for over a quarter of a century, the New Order was held responsible for aggravating the impacts of the crisis due to widespread collusion, corruption, and nepotism. The transitional government is expected to lead the country into more democratic elections in October 1999. Indonesia is at present undergoing social and political change, which gives the country an air of uncertainty.

Population control

One of the most serious challenges, since the mid-sixties to the early seventies, facing the New Order government has been population control. After an initial period of political rehabilitation, the New Order government set up Five-Year Development Plans (REPELITAs) to improve the living conditions and welfare of the people.

One major step undertaken in the early 1970s was to launch a massive campaign for fertility control – called the Family Planning Programme. Although the population doubled from 96.3 million in 1961 to 200 million in 1997, the programme is recognized as being responsible for the substantial decline of total fertility rates (TFR) from 5.6 births per woman in 1965-1967 to 2.9 in 1994 (DHS, 1995). While in 1971 the growth rate was 2.1 per cent, in 1995 it had declined to 1.71 (BPS, 1996). *Table 1* below also suggests that between 1990 and 1996 the growth rate of the population aged 0 to 14 had been the lowest. In fact, the statistics show that Indonesia is at the start of a

fast-growing ageing population. In other words, the country is soon to encounter a situation in which the needs and the best interests of the child may have to compete with those of the elderly.

Table 1. Population growth rate and gender ratio by age groups, 1990-1996

Age groups	Percentages 1996				Growth rate 1990-1996	Gender ratios	
	Male		Female				
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural		1990	1996
0-4	8.9	10.3	8.4	9.7	0.02	105.3	103.5
5-9	10.2	12.9	9.7	12.1	-1.21	105.6	103.3
10-14	11.9	13.4	11.4	12.4	0.67	105.8	102.8
15-19	11.8	10.1	11.9	9.1	2.69	101.2	106.1
20-24	9.5	6.8	10.6	8.1	2.35	88.7	102.2
25-29	9.0	6.4	9.5	8.3	1.39	91.3	92.6
30-34	7.5	7.2	8.0	7.7	2.15	98.8	90.4
35-39	7.5	7.5	7.4	7.6	3.97	107.3	97.7
40 +	23.7	25.4	23.1	25.0	3.08	95.8	93.4
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**1.69**	**100**	**99.1**

Source: BPS (1997*a*).

In addition, the distribution of the population remains a problem to be resolved in the future. As indicated by *Table 2* below, Java and Madura islands combined – the smallest among five major islands of Indonesia – have been the residence of approximately 60 per cent of the total population. Although there are continuing changes in the distribution, especially to the island of Sumatra, Java still bears more than half of the total population.

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Table 2. Distribution of population among major islands, 1930-1996 *(in million and percentage)*

Islands	% area	1930		1980		1990		1996	
		Total (Million)	%	Total (Million)	%	Total (Million)	%	Total (Million)	%
Java and Madura	6.9	41.7	68.7	91.3	61.9	107.5	59.9	116.4	58.7
Sumatra	24.7	8.2	13.5	28.0	19.0	36.4	20.3	37.7	21.1
Kalimantan	28.1	2.2	3.6	6.7	4.5	9.1	5.1	10.8	5.4
Sulawesi	9.9	4.2	6.9	10.4	7.1	12.5	7.1	14.0	7.1
Other islands*	30.4	4.6	7.3	11.1	7.5	13.6	7.6	15.3	7.7

* Including Irian Jaya.
Source: Ananta, A. (1993); BPS (1997).

In the year 2020, Java will be inhabited by approximately 145 million people, with an average density of 1,093 people per square kilometre (Ananta et al., 1995). At the present time, Java, Bali, and Sumatra islands are the most advanced in terms of education and industrialization. Most of the investments, and therefore job opportunities and better educational facilities, are in these islands. In addition, in several provinces in the four major islands, almost half of the population already live in the urban areas.

Economic growth and the problem of poverty

The year 1995 marked the end of the first 25-year Development Plan. In the past decade, Indonesia has enjoyed considerable success in overall economic growth, having sustained relatively high GDP annual growth of 8.3 per cent in the period 1989-1993, 7.5 per cent in 1994 and 8.1 per cent in 1995. The per-capita income has improved

substantially from US$70 in 1965 to $1,030 by the end of 1996. Beginning mid-1997, however, when the economic crisis hit Thailand and other countries in the region, Indonesia quickly realized that something was wrong with the past Development Plan. For one thing, income was not equitably distributed among the population. The top 20 per cent shared 42 per cent, while the bottom 20 per cent shared only 9 per cent of the national income (The World Bank, 1996).

When one looks at the number of people living under the poverty line in 1996 (see *Table 3*), one finds 22.5 million people, or approximately 12 per cent of the total population. This represents a substantial reduction in the percentage, as well as in absolute number, from the conditions in the 1970s, when 60 per cent of the population lived below the poverty line.

Table 3. Poverty reduction, 1970-1996
(in million and percentage)

Year	Urban		Rural		Urban + Rural	
	Million	%	Million	%	Million	%
1970	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	70.0	60.0
1976	10.0	38.0	44.2	40.4	54.2	40.1
1978	8.3	30.8	38.9	33.4	47.2	33.3
1981	9.5	29.0	32.8	28.4	42.3	28.6
1984	9.3	23.1	25.7	21.2	35.0	22.0
1987	9.7	20.1	20.3	16.4	30.0	17.4
1990	9.4	16.7	17.8	14.3	27.2	15.0
1993	8.7	13.5	17.2	13.8	25.9	14.0
1996	6.9	10.0	15.7	12.0	22.6	11.2

Source: BPS (1997); SUSENAS (1996).

In 1998, when the Rupiah depreciated by 80 per cent, GDP was reduced to a negative 13 per cent, and the interest rate rose

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substantially to 60 per cent annually[1], one might expect that the number of poor would increase considerably. The discussion, however, is only just beginning on the impact of the current crisis on poverty. Through a Crisis Monitoring Survey, the CBS estimated that poverty had risen to affect over 40 per cent of the total population, or more than 3.5 times. The World Bank, however, has recently made a reassessment of the situation through an independent survey and has come up with a much lower percentage, of 14 per cent (Sigit, 1999). Although CBS data may represent an overestimation of poverty, the present authors believe that the number of poor people is substantially larger than in the years before the crisis, especially in urban and rural areas in Java, where most of the infrastructures for the manufacturing sector are situated.

The following data would substantiate the above-mentioned assumptions. According to World Bank estimates (1999), over the 12 months following the crisis, which started in August 1997, most provinces in Java would have suffered a two-digits loss of real wages compared with other provinces (except for West Nusa Tenggara) as shown in *Table 4*.

Table 4. Real wages decrease in selected provinces, 1997-1998 *(in percentage)*

Province	12-month change (1/97-1/98)	6-month change (7/97-1/98)
West Java	-6.8	-10.0
Central Java	-12.1	-13.4
East Java	-13.1	-11.2
West Sumatra	-5.2	-5.0
South Sulawesi	-8.0	-5.7
West Nusa Tenggara	-8.2	-12.0

Source: World Bank staff estimates (1999).

1. Once, in 1998 to early 1999, the interest rate was stable at 25-30 per cent annually, and is so at present.

In addition, the projected share of new unemployment indicates that manufacturing and construction – both are urban and Java-based sectors – will have the highest turnover (see *Table 5*).

Table 5. Employment and unemployment shares by gender and sector, 1996 and 1999 *(in percentage)*

Sectors	Employment shares (Actual 1996)		Shares of new unemployment (Projected, 1999)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Manufacturing	54.6	45.4	51.2	48.8
Construction	96.8	3.2	97.6	2.4
Trade, hotels, restaurants	48.9	51.1	47.8	52.2
Finance	72.7	27.3	65.4	34.6
All sectors	**61.8**	**38.2**	**62.1**	**37.9**

Source: SAKERNAS (1996); World Bank staff calculations (1999).

Educational statistics: the young disadvantaged in Indonesia

Enrolment rates

When a country is poor, one of the major concerns is, of course, the education of its children. One may say that Indonesia has been one of the developing countries able to provide basic education to the majority of its children. While in the early 1970s approximately 50 per cent of children aged 7 to 12 years, and 80 per cent of those aged 13 to 15, were not in school, since 1994 (when the government adopted the nine-year universal education policy), over 90 per cent of primary-school-age children (7 to 12 years old) have been in school (see *Table 6*). In part, this was achieved through the establishment of schools in small districts throughout the country, known as the

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Proyek SD Inpres or Presidential Instruction for Elementary School Project, in 1973. In particular, this project has helped to boost the enrolment of girls (Oey-Gardiner, 1997). According to the MOEC (Ministry of Education and Culture), the NER for Junior Secondary level (SLTP) in academic year 1995/96 was 46.54 per cent, while in the Senior Secondary School, the NER was 28.06 per cent (MOEC, 1997). Recent enrolment rates for these levels of education may be observed from *Appendix 1*.

Table 6. Elementary school net enrolment rate during the first long-term (25 years) of the National Development Plan, 1968-1994 *(in percentage)*

Periods	Years	Programmes	NER
Prior REPELITA 1	1968	-	58.38
REPELITA 1	1973	SD Inpres*	66.88
REPELITA 2	1978	-	79.73
REPELITA 3	1983	6 years' compulsory education**	88.56
REPELITA 4	1988	-	89.91
REPELITA 5	1993	-	93.53
REPELITA 6	1994	9 years' universal education**	94.71
Start of 2nd long-term Development Plan	1995/96		94.77**

* See glossary; ** Suryadi (1999).
Source : MOEC (1997)

Although there has been impressive progress in the enrolment rate, it should be noted that the number of children who are not in school is still substantial, especially those aged 13 to18 years. MOEC data suggest that approximately 17.5 million (33.11 per cent) children aged 7 to18 years are not in school each year. Out of 17.5 million, 16.4 million

are children aged 13 to18 years, namely 62.1 per cent of the total population in that age group (MOEC, 1997; Irwanto et al., 1998).

Retention rates and repetition

When children go to school, one may ask if those children will complete their education. According to the data provided by the MOEC in 1996, the Gross Retention Rate (GRR) in Elementary School (ES) rose from 62 per cent in 1983 to 73 per cent in 1995-1996. GRR in the Junior Secondary School (JSS) was relatively stable, above 85 per cent; in academic year 1995-1996 the GRR in JSS was 93 per cent. The relatively low GRR in ES could partly be explained by a substantial percentage of children who repeat classes. According to the MOEC (Suryadi, 1999), 7.08 per cent of ES students (52 per cent of male and 47.9 per cent of female) repeated classes in 1995-1996. In academic year 1998-1999 the rate is expected to be 6.60 per cent. In JSS and SSS the figures are 0.48 per cent and 0.58 per cent respectively. *Table 7* below depicts the average time to complete schooling, and from the table, it seems that children would repeat classes before they drop out.

Table 7. Average time to complete schooling, 1983/1984-1993/1994 *(in years)*

Years	Elementary			Junior Secondary			Senior Secondary		
	83/4	88/9	93/4	83/4	88/9	93/4	83/4	88/9	93/4
a. To complete	6.54	6.52	6.43	3.06	3.03	3.02	3.05	3.03	3.02
b. To drop out	4.15	4.31	4.15	1.96	1.90	2.21	2.02	2.34	2.07

Source: Education Development in Indonesia, MOEC, 1997.

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Cohort analysis of 1996-1997 data suggests that only 57.4 per cent of all students enrolled in the six-year elementary school completed their education on time. At the JSS level, the percentage is 84.7 per cent – much better than at ES level, which may be due partly to a natural selection process.

Drop-out

In the academic year of 1994-1995, the official percentage for ES school drop-out was 3.12 per cent, rather low when one considers the retention rate. When one looks closer at the drop-out rate according to the grades, however, one is able to see that the higher the grade, the higher the rate. *Table 8* below suggests that children and their families found grades 3 to 6 the most difficult – academically and, possibly, financially.

Table 8. Drop-out rate according to grade, 1994-1995
(in percentage and *number)*

Grade 1-2	Grade 2-3	Grade 3-4	Grade 4-5	Grade 5-6	Grade 6 →
1.93 (94,231)	1.67 (76,997)	3.00 (135,802)	3.27 (141,453)	5.19 (212,563)	4.16 (156,118)

Source: MOEC (1997).

Currently, available statistics from the MOEC (Suryadi, 1999) suggest that the ES drop-out rate in 1997/98 was 2.63 per cent and at JSS level was 3.5 per cent for Regular JSS (SMP) and 6 per cent for religious school equal to JSS (*Madrasah Tsanawiyah – MTs*). Although no formal explanations were available, one may assume that a number of factors contribute to higher drop-out in MTs, i.e.: (1) these schools are commonly poor and poorly managed (in many

cases teachers work on a voluntary basis); (2) these schools cater for poor children who are often economically active; and (3) some children are sent to religious school in addition to their participation in other formal schools (to learn religion).

Continuation rates (CR)

According to the statistics provided by the MOEC (1997), the Continuation Rate (CR) for ES to JSS in academic year 1995/96 was 71.29 per cent. Some provinces in Java – the most advanced island – have rates below the national level. These are West Java (59.87 per cent), Central Java (67.91 per cent), and East Java (68.83 per cent). MOEC statistics in 1996 suggest that boys have better CR (70.80 per cent) than girls (62.81 per cent). Other provinces having low CR are West Nusa Tenggara (60.33 per cent) and South Kalimantan (62.35 per cent). We will come back to these numbers again when we discuss the possible causes of the lack of participation of children in formal school.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE YOUNG DISADVANTAGED IN INDONESIA

Who are the young disadvantaged in Indonesia? The following are some factors which contribute to the likelihood that a child may attend school later, repeat classes, or drop out from school. These factors, such as region, culture, gender, poverty, are intertwined in a very complex manner. In an analysis of possible gender discrimination among families from different socio-economic backgrounds, for example, Oey Gardiner (1997) found that well-to-do families are more likely to discriminate against their children in providing opportunities to continue to higher education. In another study, in West Nusatenggara, Daliyo et al (1997) found that opportunity costs were not a major reason for families who pulled their children out of school. Children from poor families, especially girls, were more likely to be pulled out of school to stay home to help with family chores. Only a small percentage of them worked outside the family home due to lack of pull factors.

Children living in rural areas

According to the most recent CBS Household Labour Survey (1998) (see *Table 9* below), the rural areas have a significantly higher number of children 'not attending school' and with 'no schooling any more'. Since age groups do not represent grade level, the data below suggest that when one lives in a rural area, one would probably attend school much later than those living in the urban areas and is at higher risk of not attending school any more (drop out or discontinue schooling). Some factors which contribute to the risk are accessibility (more difficult to access a higher level of education), level of poverty (generally poorer), lower aspiration for higher education due to the perceived opportunity costs of schooling.

Table 9. School attendance by age groups *(in percentage)*

Age groups	Urban			Rural			Urban + Rural		
	(1)*	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
5 – 9	29.70	70.05	0.26	36.63	62.94	0.43	34.38	65.25	0.37
10 – 14	0.30	95.01	4.68	1.27	88.16	10.57	0.94	90.53	8.54
15 – 19	0.48	64.84	34.69	1.82	38.04	60.15	1.27	48.97	49.76

*(1) No Schooling; (2) Attending School; (3) Not attending school any more.
Source: CBS (1998); Statistical yearbook of Indonesia (1997).

In this context children are pushed into work after completing elementary education, since parents believe that they would not be able to send their children to a higher level and that, even when those children completed JSS, their income would not differ much from those with ES-level education only. In the case of girls, many of them will be pushed into young marriage or full-time employment as part of the strategy to cope with poverty.

When one looks at the illiteracy rate by region, one finds that in 1997 the illiteracy rates in urban areas for all age groups were lower than in the rural areas (see *Table 10* below). In fact, the figures in the rural areas are three to four times larger than in the urban areas.

Table 10. Illiteracy rate by age groups and regions, 1997

Age groups	Urban	Rural	Urban + Rural
10 – 14	0.62	2.05	1.56
15 – 19	0.58	2.34	1.63

Source: CBS (1998); Statistical yearbook of Indonesia (1997).

Of course, one may wonder about the gender dimension. Oey-Gardiner (1997) in her analysis came to the conclusion that, in fact, elementary education in Indonesia had long been feminized. As many girls were enrolled, their academic performance was as good, if not better, than boys and they repeated classes less than boys. The problem is, however, that the higher the level of education, the higher the likelihood that girls will not be enrolled. One may observe *Table 11* below, in which the gender ratios are almost equal in ES and JSS, but markedly different afterwards. Oey-Gardiner assumed that culture is the underlying factor for such 'selection', since the formal regulations for school registration don't discriminate against children on the basis of their gender. In her analysis, she also found that well-to-do families in contrast to poor families were more discriminative against girls.

Table 11. Gender ratio, 1990-1994 *(F/100M)*

Years	Elementary	Junior Sec	Senior Sec
1975	83.3	63.2	55.0
1982	90.5	72.9	67.5
1985	86.9	80.8*	75.8*
1990	94.4	84.2	79.1
1991	93.7	84.2	82.9
1992	93.7	84.3	79.3
1993	93.3	87.0	84.0
1994	92.9	89.7	84.1

* Data 1987 (Irwanto et al., 1998).
Source: Oey-Gardiner (1997*b*) computed from various MOEC statistics.

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Economically active and working more than four hours/day

According to the recent Labour Survey (CBS, 1998), there were 1,644,227 working and 1,722,076 economically active children aged 10 to14 years, or 7.7 per cent of the total working-age population. A series of household surveys on the economic activities of children (*Survei Aktivitas Ekonomi Anak*) have revealed that at least 1.0 per cent of children aged 5 to 9 (210,521) are economically active (CBS, 1998; Asra et al., 1995 and 1997). As a response to the present crisis, a recent assessment of the situation of working children (Imawan, 1999) found that in the urban areas the number of children has increased substantially, from 218,900 in August 1997 to 349,600 in December 1998 (an increase of 33.6 per cent). Likewise, the number of working children aged 5 to 9 years increased from 164,495 in February 1998 to 193,363 in December 1998.

Although the majority of children work in the agricultural sector (64.4 per cent), many children are working in the manufacturing (14.7 per cent), and the services (20.9 per cent) sectors (CBS, 1998). When one looks at the number of hours worked, 31.5 per cent work over 25 hours a week. In fact, 10.6 per cent of the working children work over 44 hours a week. Of course, when children work more than 4 hours/day or 24 hours/week it is almost impossible to combine schooling and working. *Table 12* below looks at the number of children aged 7 to15 years who went to school and worked in 1996, as an example (Irwanto et al., 1998).

In 1999, the Centre for Societal Development Studies at Atma Jaya Catholic University carried out a census of street children in 12 provincial cities as part of technical assistance to the Department of Social Affairs, sponsored by the Asian Development Bank. The study head counted 39,861 (32,676 male and 7,185 female) children aged 5 to 18 years working on the street. Over 90 per cent of these children worked on the street at least five days a week and 70 per cent worked on the street every day. Approximately half of them (44 per cent) entered the street only in 1997-1998 – just after the crisis. Although 43 per cent of them were still in school, their participation may be potentially disrupted.

Table 12. Children aged 7 to15 and their working status, 1996 *(in million and percentage)*

Regions and sex	Population (million)	In school (%)		Not in school (%)	
		Not working	Working	Not working	Working
Urban					
Male	7.11	92.29	1.88	3.62	2.21
Female	7.07	91.39	1.82	4.16	2.63
Rural					
Male	14.53	77.00	8.35	6.71	7.94
Female	13.33	80.10	5.35	9.60	4.95
Indonesia	42.48 (100%)	83.03 (35.27 mil)	5.15 (2.19 mil)	6.71 (2.85 mil)	5.11 (2.17 mil)

Source: Socio-economic Survey 1996 (CBS, 1998) computed in Irwanto et al. (1999).

As indicated in the table, the combination of education and labour statistics suggests that the number of working children aged 7 to 15 years may, in fact, be over 4.3 million – twice as high as for the official figures for 10 to14 year old in the labour force. There have not been any analyses of how economic activities contribute to school drop out – especially for children from poor families. Since there are at least 2.19 million economically active schoolchildren, one may assume that these children are at high risk of being pulled out from their schooling. Although not available from the CBS data, smaller surveys on children in difficult circumstances also reveal that many working children are involved in hazardous occupations, such as working on the street and within the sex industry.

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Girls married before they reach 17 years old

According to the national legislation (Marriage law No. 1/1974) the legal age for marriage is 21 years old. To accommodate the customary law where a girl is culturally perceived as admissible for marriage at the onset of her first menstruation, a child – especially a girl – is allowed to enter marriage at the age of 16 years (19 years old for the male). In practice, however, many girls are married before they reach 16 years old. Of course, the average age of marriage changes over time. Currently, the average age of first marriage is 19 to 24 years. The national figure on first marriage before 17 years old, however, for women is still very high, i.e. 26.33 per cent, and in the rural areas, 29.87 per cent (BPS, 1997). The highest prevalence of marriage at 16 years old and younger is in the provinces of East Java (38.93 per cent), South Kalimantan (35.51 per cent), West Java (27.16 per cent), and Central Java (26.01 per cent). When one looks at the provinces with the lowest continuation rates above, one may find part of the answers in the above statistics.

III. THE IMPACTS OF THE CURRENT CRISIS ON EDUCATION

It should be noted in advance that the present analysis is based on very limited MOEC data and CBS statistics, especially the 100 village panel data and recent qualitative studies. According to the Labour Surveys conducted in 1997 and 1998 (Sigit, 1999), the rate of unemployment has increased on average by 21 per cent from August 1997 to the same period in 1998. The rate of unemployment was higher in the urban areas (9.29 per cent) and among females (6.12 per cent) than in the rural areas (3.3 per cent) and among males (5.04 per cent). Sigit (1999) argues that the lower rate of unemployment may be due in part to the work relief programmes recently deployed to prevent social unrest.

Observations by IPEC (International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour) suggest that working children are spending more time at work to fulfil the same level of needs (Johnson, et al., 1998). Interviews with parents also reveal that their ability to pay for school fees is quickly diminishing. Although most parents who were interviewed acknowledged that they were still able to send their children to the elementary school, they were doubtful whether they could afford to send their children to the higher level (Surbakti, 1999). This is similar to the crisis in 1986-1990. In his analysis of the impacts of economic crisis on school enrolment, Boediono (1998) argued that during that period 82 per cent of the poorest poor and 94 per cent of the poor were still able to send their children to elementary school. He further argued, however, that the current crisis is the worst, which may affect enrolment even at the most basic level. At this time, the authors' worries have not been substantiated. Ace Suryadi (1999), former director of the Centre for Educational Information at the MOEC, for example, pointed out that NERs at all levels were only slightly affected by the crisis (see *Table 13* below).

Table 13. Net enrolment rates at ES, JSS and SSS 1996/1997-1998/1999 *(in percentage)*

Level of education	1996/1997	1997/1998	1998/1999
Elementary school	94.98	94.96	93.74
Junior secondary	52.45	55.92	55.05
Senior secondary	37.28	39.33	39.03

Source: Suryadi (1999).

The 100 Village Household Survey data, however, suggest a rather different trend (CBS, 1999) (see *Table 14*) - although, similarly, are not pessimistic. The net enrolment rate in Elementary School seemed not to be affected by the current crisis. In fact, there were slight increases in NER, especially in rural areas. Likewise, NER in JSS is relatively stable, with some indications of increase. Since the 100 Village Survey is conducted early in the year and should not be considered representative of the national figure, one needs to be very careful when drawing conclusions. The observed numbers may be partly due to the social safety net interventions, which provide school financial assistance to poor families.

Table 14. Net enrolment rates in ES and JSS in 1994-1998
(in percentage)

Region	Male			Female			Total		
	1994	1997	1998	1994	1997	1998	1994	1997	1998
Urban	86.7	91.4	87.8	87.7	90.3	90.6	87.2	90.9	89.1
	57.1	**53.5**	**56.3**	**52.7**	**58.4**	**59.2**	**54.9**	**56.0**	**57.8**
Rural	86.3	86.8	88.5	87.3	89.4	89.0	86.8	88.1	88.8
	34.1	**36.7**	**39.4**	**33.0**	**39.5**	**39.7**	**33.6**	**38.0**	**39.5**
IDT*	84.7	84.6	87.4	86.5	88.8	88.8	85.6	86.4	88.1
	29.9	**31.1**	**34.3**	**27.4**	**34.8**	**36.5**	**28.7**	**32.9**	**35.4**
Non-IDT	88.1	91.5	89.5	88.4	91.0	89.9	89.9	91.2	89.7
	49.9	**49.6**	**51.4**	**48.9**	**53.3**	**52.0**	**49.4**	**51.4**	**51.7**
Coastal areas	84.9	86.1	86.9	85.2	86.7	88.5	88.5	86.4	87.6
	38.3	**36.7**	**41.5**	**33.8**	**41.8**	**43.3**	**36.1**	**39.3**	**42.4**
Inner-land	87.4	88.8	89.4	88.9	91.5	89.9	88.1	90.1	89.6
	39.8	**42.0**	**43.7**	**40.1**	**44.7**	**44.1**	**39.9**	**43.3**	**43.9**
100 villages	86.3	87.7	88.4	87.4	89.5	89.3	86.6	88.6	88.8
	39.2	**40.0**	**42.9**	**37.6**	**43.5**	**43.8**	**38.4**	**41.7**	**43.3**

* IDT villages are those considered as poor by government standard and entitled for government assistance as stipulated in Presidential Instruction No. 5/1993 on lagging behind villages.
Source: 100 Village Survey 1998. CBS (1999).

As indicated by the interviews, and the fact that most economically active children began working after the completion of elementary education, one may expect that NER in JSS and SSS will soon be severely affected by the current crisis. Suryadi (1999) observed, for example, that in 1998 the continuation rate from ES to JSS had dropped to 64 per cent, which reduced students enrolled in JSS by 350,000. In addition, he noted that the drop-out rate in JSS had

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doubled to 6.19 per cent (SMP) and 8.5 per cent (MTs) in 1998, or a drop of 214,000 SMP students and 45,000 MT students. The continuation rate from JSS to SSS in 1998 also dropped from 79.15 per cent in 1997 to 71.3 per cent in 1998, while the drop-out rate had increased from 4 per cent in 1997 to 5.92 per cent in 1998.

IV. STRATEGIES FOR THE YOUNG DISADVANTAGED: THE ROLES PLAYED BY DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDERS

Out of school education has long been catered for by the community – especially by religious organizations and non-governmental organizations. Although literacy programmes were carried out long before independence, the government offered the Package A programme only in 1993, as stipulated in Government Regulation No. 73/1993, to enable elementary school dropouts to obtain certification equal to Elementary School. At present, the Packaged programmes, i.e., *Kejar Paket A* and *Paket B* are offered both by government institutions and community organizations (including NGOs) either through government subsidy or independently.

The structure of the out of school education programme which serves the young disadvantaged may be drawn as follows:

Government agencies/institutions

Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC)

Literacy and Basic Education programmes:

Directorate General of Basic and Secondary Education (*Ditjen Dikdasmen*):

Visiting Teacher Model (*Model Sistem Guru Kunjung*)

Open JSS (*SMP Terbuka*)

Directorate General of Out-of-School Education, Youth and Sports (*Diklusepora*) / Directorate of Community Education (*Dikmas*):

Illiteracy Eradication Programme (*Program Pemberantasan Buta Huruf – PBH*)

Package A equal to ES (*Kejar Paket A setara SD*)

Package B equal to JSS (*Kejar Paket B setara SLTP*)

Vocational programmes:

Directorate of Out-of-School Education, Youth and Sports (*Diklusepora*) / Directorate of Community Education (*Dikmas*):

Entrepreneurship and Income Generating (*Kejar Usaha*)

Ministry of Manpower (MOM)

Directorate General for the Promotion of Training and Productivity:
Vocational Training Centre

Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA)

Directorate General of Social Rehabilitation

Non-governmental institutions

Basic Functional Literacy Programme:

Fully adopt government programmes such as Package A and B
Customized Package A and B programmes

Vocational Training Programme:

NGO: children empowerment programme
Private sector

Survival Skills programmes

General health and sanitary practices
HIV/AIDS and STD prevention programme

Government programmes

The analysis of government programmes suffers from a lack of good information records, especially on the results of any evaluations of existing programmes. Sufficient information, however, was collected on the nature of the programmes. The present report utilizes the most current available records or debate on the subject matter and interviews with key persons in respective institutions. Three line Ministries are responsible for providing out-of-school education accessible for young disadvantaged participants, namely: the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), Ministry of Manpower (MOM), and Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA).

1. Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC)

The MOEC provides alternative approaches to formal education targeted at the hard to reach population, as well as specially designed packages for out of school children. The following are existing and ongoing alternative approaches to formal education managed by the Directorate General of Basic and Secondary Education, MOEC.

Literacy and Basic Education programmes

(i) Alternative approaches to formal education

- Visiting teacher model

Poverty is only one of a host of factors which prevent children from enrolling in school. In Indonesia there are many communities living in isolated – geographically and socially difficult to reach – areas. The MOSA reported that there are about 208,277 households in 18 provinces living as isolated communities. Furthermore, observation by the MOEC since 1987-1988 convinced the Ministry that many children from these communities were not in school.

Since the number of households in such communities is small – equal to or less than 20 households – to establish a small-sized Elementary School (*SD Kecil*) is not considered efficient, although the small size of ES was designed to serve isolated communities (Depdikbud, 1996-1997).

After a conceptual review in 1989, it was decided that the model would be implemented in Central Kalimantan Province. Three enclaves of isolated communities were targeted, i.e., Danau Hampapak, Danau Bajawak, and Nyaru Menteng in the district of Palangka Raya.

Participants. Participants in the programme are children aged 7 to12 years. As noted in *Table 15* below, all children in the population went to join the programme (100 per cent participation rate).

Table 15. Participation rate of children aged 7-12 years in Central Kalimantan in 1995/1996

Locations	Children 7-12		Enrolment		Participation rate (%)
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Danau Hampapak	6	11	6	11	100
Danau Bajawak	5	3	5	3	100
Sie Penganen	4	3	4	3	100

Source: Depdikbud (1996-1997).

Households with school-age children are approached by local authorities – including those representing the MOEC district office – to let their children enrol in the programme. In most instances, parents are very co-operative and even grateful to have their children enrolled in the programme.

Selection of locations. There are many parts of Indonesia which are difficult to reach, either due to their geographic location or to their cultural practices – such as the Badui Dalam community in West Java, which openly refuses any modern interventions. The locations selected for this pilot model were chosen on the basis of the following characteristics:

- an enclave of an isolated community;
- the population of no more than 20 households;
- the number of children not exceeding 20;

- the distance from the nearest village where government offices are located ranging between about 5 to 7 kilometres.

The sites for the pilot programme have the majority of the above criteria.

Teaching staff. The teaching staff in this model consists in visiting teachers from the nearest ES, which is called the Base School[2], skilled assistants recruited from the local community, or from outside of the community, who can help teachers train students in certain skills, and tutors who are recruited from the community, or outside, who assist children in the learning processes. Teachers and, partially, tutors are responsible for the students' academic achievement. The skilled staff is assigned to train students in applied and useful vocational skills in the community, such as making bamboo fish traps. The headteacher of the base school is also accountable for the quality of the learning process. As a consequence, he/she is scheduled to visit the students at least once a month.

Curriculum. The model adopts the 1994 National Curriculum entirely. The model mostly utilizes learning materials for regular school and evaluates students' achievement on a similar basis as students enrolled in regular schools. The only difference is that this model depends on the ability of the teacher and tutor to encourage greater independence among the students. Due to the nature of their circumstances, students are inherently more independent than those living in less isolated communities.

Learning process and materials. There are three sets of learning materials being used in the programme, i.e. package books for regular elementary school, modules for *SD Kecil*, supplementary modules, if

2. Same conditions as in the OJSS; in this case teachers are full-time teachers at an ES Base School who are also assigned to assist students in the remote area.

any (including modules for IEP/ *PBA Paket A1-100*, modules for skill training). Having the materials in hand, teachers visit the students at learning kiosks two to three times per week and conduct classes as well as individual tutorials, as necessary, with the help of the tutor and skilled staff. The tutor mainly guides the students individually and is responsible for monitoring each student's learning activities while the teacher is away.

Since the students learn in a modular system, they could progress faster than regular school students. Evaluation is based on daily achievement as monitored by the tutor, formative and summative tests, and, finally, the graduation examination.

Finances. The community, the MOEC, and provincial authority (*Pemda*) financially support the provision of the programme – although *Pemda* holds the greatest responsibility of all as part of the local development budget drawn from locally secured revenues. To build the learning kiosks, the community has to provide manpower and supply construction materials which are available locally, whereas *Pemda* supplies the rest. In most cases it costs about Rp.1,000,000[3] to build one learning kiosk (one in each area). Maintenance of the kiosks is borne by the MOEC.

To facilitate visits, *Pemda* provides a motor boat for each base school. Operational costs are also borne by the *Pemda,* amounting to Rp.25,000 per month, while monthly fees for each staff member involved in the provision are as follows:

Headteacher of base school: Rp.32,500,
Visiting teacher: Rp.32,500,
Tutor: Rp.25,000.

3. The exchange rate has been fluctuating. In 1994 the exchange rate was US$1.00 = Rp. 2,250. After the crisis, it fluctuated between Rp. 6,000 to Rp. 9,000 per US$1.00.

There is no allocated fee or honorarium for skilled staff as, in most cases, all the tasks under the position are done by either the teacher or the tutor.

Challenges. Apart from the obviously very small budgetary support, a number of challenges may be discussed in this report, due to the geographical characteristics of the area and budgetary constraints. Most teachers came to visit their students as frequently as twice a week; in isolated areas in which water transportation is needed, the challenge is greater. When the dry season comes and the river gets dry, usually teachers have to walk long distances and take difficult tracks to arrive at their destination. In such instances, visits are cut to once a month, each visit being of eight consecutive days' duration. When teachers must condense their visit like that, at least three implications should be considered:

1. The base school has to let its teachers go for a longer period, while they have responsibilities to a larger number of students in the school.
2. The teachers may have other responsibilities in their own communities or families which may prevent a longer stay with their students in the isolated community.
3. Effects on student performance after having condensed rather than spread out, inputs which, in most cases, should facilitate comprehension.

Another challenge is when the programme has to deal with vagabond or nomadic communities, where children frequently move with their parents. In the evaluation, however, it was found that children from such families were always able to find a similar programme or were able to join regular school where available. This suggests that such a model should have high compatibility with mainstream education. In fact, the evaluation also found that students

learning through this visiting-teacher model were able to cope well with the regular school programme when they were enrolled in the regular JSS. Their academic achievements were average, although slightly less than the students in the base school. In fact, there were two cases of students enrolled in the State Junior Secondary School in Palangkaraya who scored above average in their academic achievements. Of course, the number of cases is too small to be optimistic as yet (Soepardi et al., 1997).

▒ Open Junior Secondary School - OJSS

The Open Junior Secondary School is a subsystem in the national education system which is designed to offer formal education at the secondary level with the least assistance of teachers. The administration of the OJSS is managed by a local regular JSS which is appointed by the MOEC according to its capacity. This local JSS is called the Base School or *SLTP Induk*.

Although it was first started in 1979 as a pilot project in five provinces, not until 1994 had its development been boosted by the government, i.e. when the nine-year universal education movement was launched. The OJSS is considered as one of the means to achieving the goal of nine years of universal education. Since 1994, the government had planned to establish a total of 12,000 schools all over Indonesia. Due to economic difficulties, the target was modified in the 1997/1998 budget to a little over 3,000 schools. At present, the priority of the government is to maintain the quality of the services provided.

Curriculum. The curriculum for the OJSS is exactly the same as in the regular school, i.e., the 1994 National Curriculum. A total of 12 subjects are to be taught plus a number of extra-curricular activities. The subjects are presented in modular form, in which each has its own reading materials, workbook, and audiovisual aids. Evaluation is conducted daily or weekly through the workbook, while

examinations are to follow the tradition of the regular JSS. The graduation certificate is awarded by the local office of the MOEC.

Students. The programme is designed to meet the needs of children aged 11 to 18 years who have completed ES or dropped out of JSS or equivalent level of education (such as the religious school *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*). The priority of the OJSS, however, is given to children aged 13 to 15 years who, for one reason or another, are unable to enrol in regular JSS. For example, children living in hard-to-reach places are given special attention. In some provinces, such as North Sulawesi, the OJSS is provided with a boat for teachers to visit their students and vice versa. Since the programme is free, the main targets generally are economically poor children.

Learning processes and materials. Although designed as a flexi-time programme, students are expected to organize face-to-face contact with teachers in the local JSS once or twice a week, in which each meeting should be equal to six contact hours. During the meeting, students may consult on their concerns, questions, or any clarifications on the subject matters with relevant teachers. Time arrangement is up to both students and teachers. The regular learning activities, however, are organized in groups of 10 to 20 students and occur in a location called the Place for Learning Activities or *Tempat Kegiatan Belajar* (TKB), where students are assisted by a tutor.

Around one Base School, the community may have as many as five TKBs, which are subsidized by the government. Within each TKB, students and tutors may have as many contact hours as possible. Although in some areas, such as Bitung (North Sulawesi), the government has provided the community with transportation facilities (such as a boat) – it is not possible in many other places. Whenever there are difficulties in arranging the learning processes according to the standardized format, the community may modify the format according to the local conditions. For example, rather

than having the meeting at the *SLTP Induk* (which may be far away), the meeting with teachers may be arranged in other locations.

Most of the learning processes are organized independently or in peer groups. Nationally standardized learning materials are provided free of charge to children. Audiovisual aids are available, but usually they are kept in the *SLTP Induk* – not readily available. TKBs play a very important role in the learning process. While each child is supposedly furnished with books of his/her own, very often the reality is that each book must be shared with three to five other classmates. Therefore, it is only at a TKB that they may share their materials. In this place they may also use a radio and cassette player. Other facilities, such as video and TV and other audiovisual aids, are usually kept in the Base School. According to the initial planning of the programme, the government will provide students with learning materials broadcast by the local radio station or the national public and private television companies. Students may obtain information from the Base School on the programme and the broadcasting station. Some materials have been aired; nevertheless, the overall plan may have been reconsidered due to financial difficulties.[4]

Tutors. Tutors are usually recruited from members of the community, like parents or those who meet the criteria as tutors – such as being a role model, able to motivate students to learn, and able to convince parents on the importance of their children's education. As such, a tutor is not expected to master the academic contents of the learning materials. Therefore, tutors are not held responsible for students' academic achievements.

4. One TV station privately owned by the daughter of the 2nd President overtook the opportunity for the government to set up a family-oriented TV channel, planned as the broadcaster of the course materials for a government-funded alternative education programme. This TV station did not function as such.

Finances. There is no direct cost to be borne by the students/parents throughout the study, since all the operational costs are fully subsidized by the government and partly supported by an Asian Development Bank loan through the OJSS project. Participants are required to attend the TKBs and the Base School at their own cost. They must provide themselves with notebooks and pencils.

Under the OJSS scheme, the government covers the following expenses, which will constitute average monthly costs to operate an OJSS, excluding other administrative costs:

fees for the headteacher or	Rp.50,000/month
fee for subject teachers	Rp.30,000/month
fee for tutor	Rp.34,000/month
transport fee	Rp.10,000/1 visit
fee for administrative secretary	(varied, but very small)

Costs are different for different schools. The budget must be proposed annually. The headteacher is responsible for controlling the expenditures. In most cases, the budget is never enough to cover all expenses, especially when the number of participants is larger than expected or when more co-ordination (meetings) is required. As admitted by an official at the quality control bureau of the office of the Directorate of General Secondary Education (*Dikmenum*), the success of an OJSS depends very much on the quality and commitment of the headteacher of the *SLTP Induk*. The headteacher plays a major role as a motivator and a creative problem-solver – especially with regard to financial limitations and enrichment of content areas. Taking Bitung as an example, the headteacher took the liberty of using the boat for business purposes. In North Jakarta, the headteacher asked for additional funds from the parents' association of the regular JSS.

Challenges. General observations with regard to the progress made by the OJSS model, however, suggest that a number of serious challenges will be faced in the future. Financial insufficiency should be considered as a top priority that needs to be resolved very soon, especially to cover

important costs such as teachers' and tutors' remuneration and the provision of learning and other supplementary materials. When teachers are paid decently, their recruitment – especially for mathematics, science and English – will not be a problem any longer.

Many teachers are very committed to helping their students. As a consequence, the number of face-to-face meetings has increased dramatically – especially in the third grade – which, in turn, may overburden children and their families. Although this is done by teachers out of concern for quality, financial limitations on the child and his/her family's side, are important factors to consider.

Another challenge which needs to be addressed by the MOEC is the high drop-out rate (approximately 30 per cent), as observed by an informant in East Java and admitted by Dr Agung Pradoto, an official at the MOEC office of R&D. Coupled with that problem is the relatively low completion rate[5]. The problem is that when children spend part of their time on study, especially when they have to meet with the subject teacher, their wage is cut. Some children are not even given permission to take time off. Some parents are not supportive and regard further education as burdensome.

As an illustration is an OJSS in North Jakarta which the authors interviewed for this study *(see Box 1)*. The most difficult problem faced by the school is the quality of inputs. Many students self-enrolled into the programme but their time was very limited due to their outside work, which was usually in the informal sector. The school admitted a total of 399 students aged 12 to 15 years. According to the headteacher, absenteeism was very high. The best days would have 70 to 80 per cent attendance of students at the TKB. It was admitted that the school has always had a lower than national average. The authors noted, however, that the formula for computing final grades

5. It was only possible to secure an approximate figure, below 70 per cent, of those who continue to study. Data on those who failed the graduation examination are not available, but the number seemed to be very low.

has been accommodated according to the local situation (with the support of the provincial office of the MOEC). The informants reasoned that the decision was made to help those children gain higher self-esteem and better opportunities in the labour market.

Box 1. OJSS 30, KOJA – North Jakarta

As a Junior Secondary School operating in the Northern part of Jakarta, OJSS 30-KOJA had to realize the fact that many children aged 12 to 18 years in the surrounding area were not in school any more due to poverty and working full time. Although the guidelines for setting up an OJSS clearly stated that the government would only be able to subsidize 5 tutors and 12 subject teachers for 5 study groups, OJSS 30-KOJA decided to recruit more students (399) distributed in 18 study groups (TKBs), 10 tutors, and 30 subject teachers – more than twice the subsidized number.

To overcome financial limitations, the headteacher then asked the parent-teacher association to provide cross-subsidy for the OJSS programme. Moreover, the headteacher allows each tutor to manage more than one study group so as to motivate the tutors by increasing their total take-home salary, despite the additional burden of tackling more assignments. Limiting the number of tutors is also a strategy taken by the Base School to ensure the quality of the study group management. They argued that having a smaller number of tutors means a smaller number of tutors to manage and, more importantly, to train. It seems that the policy works well as the school's graduation rate is almost 100 per cent regardless of the different formulae being applied to the students' final grade as authorized by the provincial office of the MOEC (Kanwil P&K).

Distribution of the modules is yet another challenge which needs constructive response. Learning materials for grade 1 are usually available to most of the students. Materials for grades 2 and 3, however, are usually incomplete. Recently, the MOEC has bundled all materials into a larger package to make sure that each set delivered to students is complete. This way, although not all students receive their own materials, at least the available materials are complete.

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Another serious issue needing considerable attention is monitoring practices that deviate from the standard procedures. For example, there have been reports that participants/students of OJSS are to wear uniforms and shoes. The teachers said that those students themselves aspired to it because wearing uniform helped them improve their self-esteem. Overconcern for graduation may push teachers to let students pass examinations without proper control. This is sometimes hard to understand, but teachers have complained that it is very hard to teach students in OJSS since many of them have left school for a long time. Any deviations could have serious impacts over costs and may impose serious limitations to working children.

Finally, an evaluation that involves all aspects of the programme should be conducted to understand the gaps between the needs of the students and the kinds of services provided. According to the authors' informants, there is a strong impression among teachers that the programme put too much emphasis on quantitative targets, especially the number of students. Improvement of the quality of services is largely neglected.

(ii) Alternative education for out-of-school children

As outlined earlier, many children aged 13 to 18 years are no longer in school due to a number of factors. To help these children gain adequate knowledge and skills that may help them compete in the labour market and help them function well in the community, the government has designed a number of programmes which are thought to be suitable to their conditions and situations. These programmes are offered under the auspices of the Directorate of Community Education of the MOEC *(Direktorat Pendidikan Masyarakat - Dikmas)*. *Table 16* below suggests that the number of participants in 1995/1996 was low - much lower than the size of the needs. In the next section of this report, however, the authors will demonstrate that the community has actually taken some of the responsibility.

Table 16. Number of study groups, students and tutors of *Dikmas* programmes 1995-1996

Programmes	Study groups	Students	Tutors
Literacy (PBH)	42,703	1,281,078	43,731
Package A (EQ ES)	5,741	172,185	5,928
Package B (EQ JSS)	8,261	330,367	26,648
Income generating	299,958	1,750,674	399,048
Apprenticeship	-	6,986	5,981

Source: MOEC (1998); Statistik Pendidikan Masyarakat (1996-1997).

Most of the programmes – except the Literacy Eradication (PBH) – are designed for children aged 7 to 15 years. When participants are older than school age, other programmes – especially the Income generating and the Apprenticeship – are offered as an integral part of Package B.

▩ Illiteracy Eradication programme (Pemberantasan Buta Huruf)

Participants. The Illiteracy Eradication Programme (IEP) is one of the oldest out-of-school education programmes provided by the MOEC. During the International Literacy Day in 1993, however, the President renewed the principle to have every Indonesian literate. He ordered the beginning of the National Movement for the Eradication of Illiteracy in Indonesia. He wanted to see Indonesia free of illiterates aged 10 to 44 at the end of the Sixth Development Plan. The goals stated were to eradicate illiteracy, to help every citizen to have at least an elementary level of education (certified), and to enable every citizen of Indonesia to understand information and to improve the quality of life. The target group for this programme is those aged 7 to 44 years who have had no education at all or who have dropped out very early (grade 1 to 3) in elementary school.

Learning materials. As an illiteracy eradication programme, PBH offers reading and writing skills, simple arithmetic and *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language). The learning materials are set in the form of 100 graded modules which are studied through tutorship. In practice, however, the materials may be combined with learning materials for the Package A programme or the *SD Kecil* (small-sized Elementary School) programme.

Learning processes. Participants are gathered into small groups of 10 to 30 people. Each group is assisted by a tutor. The place and the time for study are decided by the group. Each participant is provided with modules. They have to meet at least twice a week and to complete modules A1-A5 and other relevant materials within a year. Evaluation of students' performance is conducted on the basis of daily tutor observation, completed assignments, and semester tests/examinations (once each semester). Participants will be awarded a certificate of literacy upon proving reasonable ability in reading, writing, arithmetic and *Bahasa Indonesia*.

Upon completion, participants may take the ES equivalent examination and may receive an ES graduation certificate. When a participant is able to complete module A10, he/she may combine his/her study with the Income-Generating Study Group (*Kejar Usaha*), yet another programme under the auspice of *Dikmas*. Completion of the A10 module entitles the participant to a certain amount of soft loans to support the income-generating activity. To promote the programme and to raise participants' motivation, the MOEC and other institutions'[6] sponsor locals up to a national-level competition of literacy.

6. The Literacy programme is administered through several institutions other than the MOEC. The military, for example, has been very actively involved in providing tutorships and sponsoring competitions (called the OBAMA project).

Tutors. The criteria for recruiting tutors for the IEP are not very strict. As long as one has at least elementary education and is able to master the modules, he/she is considered fit for the responsibility. Most of the tutors, however, are SSS graduates. As shown in *Table 17* below, a significant proportion of the tutors even have higher education, especially male tutors. The following tables describe the backgrounds of IEP tutors up to 1996-1997.

Table 17. IEP tutors according to educational background and sex, 1995-1996 *(in number and percentage)*

Sex	ES	JSS	SSS	Higher education	Total
Male	849 (3 %)	3,241 (12 %)	21,887 (76 %)	2,671 (9 %)	28,648 (100 %)
Female	417 (3 %)	1,671 (11 %)	11,714 (78 %)	1,281 (8 %)	15,083 (100 %)
Total	**1,266 (3 %)**	**4,912 (11 %)**	**33,601 (77 %)**	**3,952 (9 %)**	**43,731 (100 %)**

Source: Depdikbud (1996-1997).

Table 18. IEP tutors and participation in training by sex, 1995-1996 *(in number and percentage)*

Sex	Trained	Non-trained	Total
Male	18,880 (66 %)	9,768 (34 %)	28,648 (100 %)
Female	9,662 (64 %)	5,421 (36 %)	15,083 (100 %)
Total	**28,542 (65 %)**	**15,189 (35 %)**	**43,731 (100 %)**

Source: Depdikbud (19961997).

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Table 18 suggests that only slightly above half of the tutors have had specific training on the administration of the programme.

Finances. Participants are not required to pay for their study. In fact, the government provides Rp. 5,000/month for each participant to join the programme. Tutors are paid Rp. 15,000/month for eight months.

Challenges. One of the most difficult challenges for the IEP is recruiting participants and maintaining their participation. Many of the participants are older persons who have full-time jobs and low aspirations regarding education. Younger participants are catered for by other programmes. The difficulty is partly reflected in the rather low coverage of the programme. Out of 5.6 million illiterates aged 10 to 44 in 1995, only 1.5 million joined IEP (Depdikbud, 1996-1997).

Another challenge for this programme is tutor maintenance. Most of the tutors are recruited as volunteers. They join the programme as part of their community service, either institutionally or personally. Their position as volunteers, and the fact that professional tutors are very low paid, have made the programme difficult to control with regard to quality.

▩ Package A and B (PA&B) - ES and JSS equivalent

Rather than improving the coverage and the retention rate of ES and JSS, the government launched an out-of-school programme which provides children with an alternative education equivalent to ES and JSS levels. As a government-sponsored programme, PA&B is the most popular and the most replicated model in the country.

Participants. The participants for the PA&B programme are those children aged 6 to 8 years who have not been enrolled in school for various reasons, and those aged 9 to 12 years who have had ES education up to 3rd grade level, but are not able to complete their

schooling (dropped out at 3rd grade). As explained earlier, however, the Package programme is also used in literacy education for other age groups. These participants are commonly recruited from poor families or families with economically active children.

Curriculum. PA&B follows the 1994 National Curriculum. The difference is that the materials are provided in modular form[7] to enable students to study independently and in groups of peers. Although the programme was instituted in 1994, the modules were only available for participants in 1996. In previous years, participants learned from materials prepared by the tutors without any standardized format. Tutors usually selected books and other learning materials he/she thought suitable for the learners. The provision of nationally standardized modules in 1996 was a very significant improvement.

From 1994 to 1997, participants who completed the whole modules were required to take a final examination administered by the MOEC, which was called the ES Equivalent Examination. When they passed the examination, they would receive a certificate entitling them to the same rights as any ES student to continue their education in formal regular JSS.

Since 1997-1998, however, a different form of examination was introduced. The examination reflects the nature of Package A better than the previous one. The participants who pass this examination will receive a certificate which describes their achievement in Package A and entitles the bearer to continue his/her study in regular JSS. One should note, however, that the creation of a different certificate for Package A graduates has created the impression that the level of education achieved through Package A is in fact different (lower) than the regular ES. There have been some accounts where regular JSS would not accept students graduated from the Package A.

7. Consisting of several modules.

Learning processes. Learning is organized in groups of 30 participants (maximum) and facilitated by a tutor. According to the guidebook, the group should meet at least three times a week. The days and time are discussed between the participants and the tutor. Each contact hour is equal to 45 minutes and each meeting should be at least two to three hours. Each student should have his/her own modules and the supplementary materials. Evaluation may be conducted at the end of every meeting and at the end of every module.

In comparison to the learning process at OJSS, the Package programme has more flexibility in terms of group meeting and learning materials. Whereas the OJSS requires students to meet at set times with regular teachers at the Base School, PA&B do not require such a rigidly scheduled meeting. In fact, many cases were found in which students of PA&B do not meet three times per week as required in the guidebook, due to their specific circumstances. Furthermore, the tutors and the implementing institutions (such as a manufacturing company) have considerable freedom to enrich the learning materials. There are many complementary materials which are developed for specific target groups. The International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC/ILO), for example, has assisted MOEC to develop modules for working children. The modules contain specific situations in which working children have to learn to minimize work hazards and to deal with issues of protection. To help children learn from their materials, most tutors design and produce their own teaching aids.

Tutors. Tutors are recruited by the local MOEC office or the implementing agencies. All tutors are recruited from the local community. Generally the criteria for recruitment is the educational background of the applicants. As indicated by *Table 19* below, there are tutors who have the same level of education as their prospective participants (JSS). As the responsibility of the tutor is to assist participants in their learning process, their academic background

would determine the quality of their assistance. Most tutors, however, have SSS level of education and many even have higher education.

Table 19. Educational background of PA&B tutors by sex, 1995-1996 *(in number)*

Sex	JSS	SSS	Higher education	Total
Male	198 **438**	3,342 **10,889**	742 **8,678**	4,282 **19,996**
Female	66 **78**	1,332 **3,209**	248 **3,365**	1,646 **6,652**
Total	264 **516**	4,674 **14,089**	990 **12,043**	5,928 **26,648**

Source: Depdikbud (1996-1997).

Since their professional fees are so minimal, the most important criteria for recruitment of tutors is their willingness to dedicate their time to helping children to learn and to convince parents that education is important for their children. Many tutors are parents themselves. The downside of such recruitment is that many tutors have their own full-time jobs and that many have no teaching experience.

Finances. The programme is free for the participants. Like other state-sponsored literacy programmes, participants receive a certain amount of stipends for joining the programme. Tutors are paid Rp.25,000 per month – but the amount is actually varied according to the local capacity; when the Package is administered by a private institution, tutors usually receive more than that. In some districts, the local government helps to increase the fees.

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Challenges. Although PA&B are the most popular programmes, the coverage is still very limited (see *Table 16* above).

In addition, although Package A is relatively easy, many participants found it very similar to ES and thus as boring and tiring as studying in regular ES. Participants coming from certain segments of the population, for example street children, were stigmatized by the administrators of the Equivalent Examination, which caused children to withdraw their participation.

Packages A and B were designed for independent study. It was often found, however, that participants were actively engaged in studying only at the Study Group. The situation is even worse when children do not come to the study group very often. It appears that either (a) parents have very minimal understanding of the importance of education, or (b) they do understand, but they consider the lost income when children are sent to the study group. In other words, children are needed more to generate income than to spend time studying. Apparently, tutors need to work with parents more closely and the MOEC needs to back up the programme with solid social marketing.

Although it is good that tutors are recruited from among the community members, the problem is, however, that they are very low paid considering the complexity of their work. In a community where most people live at the subsistence level, the amount of fees and honorarium will be associated with the amount of time and effort invested in the work. In other words, one would not expect a tutor to do extra time and work when his/her time is very valuable to meet the survival needs of the family. One example is the difficulty for Package B to recruit an English tutor, since such tutors would earn much more providing private lessons and working for an English language school and assisting the programme (see e.g. Indriyanto and Jiyono, 1996).

The role of the MOEC as the administrator as well as the facilitator of the programme needs to be evaluated and strengthened. There are numerous agencies and institutions (including NGOs and business establishments) which would like to help with the PA&B programme.[8] However, many people find it rather difficult to get the assistance of the local MOEC (e.g. providing modules), although they are willing to cover some of the costs of the programme (e.g. tutors' fees). In addition, co-ordination is rather weak when it comes to inter-agency co-operation. More specifically, the core team, which is led by the school superintendent, could not perform optimally due to serious financial limitations.

Financial limitations seem to have other consequences. The most serious one is the limitation imposed on the number of children taking the Equivalent Examination. Considering the complexity of getting participants to complete the whole course, it is difficult to understand that some students are not allowed to participate in the examination due to budget restriction.[8] Tutors and children find this demotivating. Moreover, capacity-building initiatives for the PA&B programme are very minimal, although the MOEC found that many tutors did not have teaching experience, were usually non-specialists in the subject that they were responsible for, and had educational background at JSS level (Indriyanto and Jiyono, 1996).

Vocational training programmes

MOEC provides out-of-school vocational education through various programmes run by the Directorate General of Out-of-School Education, Youth and Sports, c.q. Directorate of Community Education. One of the spearheads is entrepreneurship and income-generating activities (called *Kejar Usaha: Kelompok Belajar Usaha*

8. Please refer to later sections on the involvement of these institutions in PA&B provision.

or KBU, which literally means 'income-generating study group'), initiated in 1994-1995 as part of the national strategy to alleviate poverty and eradicate illiteracy among the population aged 13 to 44 years (Ditjen Dikmas, 1997). Each KBU study group consists of three to five members.

Curriculum. The curriculum for KBU depends on the level of education completed by members of the group. In most cases, the MOEC provides the participants/learners with the existing non-formal education programmes, i.e.: the Illiteracy Eradication Package (*Kejar Paket A* and *B* equivalency programmes). In addition, the group is asked to identify the skills that they would like to learn to help them to earn a stable income. In the process of acquiring certain vocational skills, participants also learn simple business administration, organization management and entrepreneurship.

Learners/participants. Learners/participants are recruited from among community members aged 13 to 44 years who have low income or are unemployed. In addition, they are unable to read or write, possess little or no skills, and are currently or have previously been involved in the MOEC non-formal education programmes.

Learning methods. KBU should not be perceived as a vocational training programme per se since participants are trained to acquire or improve certain vocational skills as well as to ensure that the products or outputs of the acquired skill reach the intended customers. In other words, the programme should also result in a micro business establishment. Accordingly, KBU takes an integrated approach combining literacy, vocational skill training, and business

9. At the beginning of each fiscal year, the Local Education Authority must propose a budget for carrying out equivalent examinations within the area. There have been occasions when the number of prospective examinees exceeded the projection in the budget proposal, therefore some of them would not be able to take the examination.

study. Except for the literacy programme, where the group is assisted by tutors, skill training and business study are conducted hands on. Participants are involved in the production of goods and services, and in every process before their products reach the intended customers.

Facilitator. A facilitator – called a technical resource person (*Nara Sumber Teknis* or *NST*) – is hired to help participants to identify needs, opportunities, and constraints with regard to the products or outputs of the proposed vocational skill. The NST is also responsible for facilitating the group to manage the micro business that has just been started (planning, bookkeeping and marketing), to connect with financial institutions (e.g. banks) for business expansion, and to look for partner(s) in the private sector.

Finances. Participants of the programme should form a group with shared interest in a specific income-generating activity, e.g. duck farming. In order to foster group activities, members of a group should come from the same village. They will be facilitated by a tutor (mostly from the MOEC) and learn to build a small business enterprise through a participatory learning process. To further motivate participants, they will receive a small amount of soft loan as seed capital (Rp.500,000 to Rp.2 million) to set up a micro-business project alongside their training. If the business is profitable, members will be encouraged to save a portion of their income to enable the group to return the seed capital, to be utilized for another group (KBU).

Challenges. KBU is an ideal programme which provides relevant skills to the community. The ultimate goal of the programme, however, is to stimulate group members to learn more. In this sense, many KBUs have achieved the intended outcomes. One of the most difficult challenges, however, is the selection of NSTs. It is easily

recognized that although an NST may have the required skill(s) to train participants - he/she does not necessarily have sufficient business sense or entrepreneurial skills. In other words, to improve the vocational skills of participants is one challenge that needs to be tackled, and yet to ensure that their products or services get to the intended customers at the right time and price is another matter that needs to be considered. In the pilot projects in West Java, it was observed that the success of the programme largely depended on the ability of MOEC local staff (Community Education) to mobilize the larger community to recognize existing KBUs and to work together to achieve the goals of the programmes. In fact, in the community where tutors of the packaged programmes have initiated a co-operative - KBU seems to fall into the right environment.

Another aspect that needs careful consideration is that this programme is mostly popular with adults and/or married persons who have higher economic demands for their families. In fact, many NGOs adopt this programme as an adjunct to their programme for working children, that is for the parents of working children. Furthermore, an interview with Dr Ace Suryadi, the former head of the MOEC Office of R&D, suggests that the programme is often not well-planned and managed, and therefore has no clear future direction.

2. Ministry of Manpower (MOM)

The Ministry of Manpower runs a Vocational Training Centre (VTC) and sponsors private vocational training beyond the school system. In line with the structure of this report, only the VTC will be discussed in this section.

The Ministry of Manpower has offered and developed vocational training centres since 1947. They have catered to the needs of job-

seekers, veterans, and employees of government agencies (MOM, 1997). In line with the goals of the first long-term Development Plan, in which agriculture and the manufacturing industry were considered as strategic sectors that should receive first priority, in 1979 the World Bank helped the MOM to establish 17 additional VTCs in a number of provinces, making the total number of VTCs in Indonesia, 21.

According to the MOM (1997), during the period of 1980-1990, 104 small VTCs and 16 large VTCs were established - making a total number of 156 VTCs available across the country. The MOM claimed that during this period, the establishment of VTCs has changed from a supply-driven into a more demand-driven situation. In addition, the period was also marked by a number of new directions, i.e. (i) the development of the National Training System and the Skill Qualification Standard; (ii) prioritized training for the unemployed to qualify as technicians graduated from polytechnic institutions; (iii) the development of partnership with the business community and other government agencies.

In 1997, the Ministry of Manpower issued Decree No. 88/Men/1997, which classified the MOM's VTC into the following categories:

1. Vocational Training for Instruction and Development, which sets out to provide training for instructors sent by the private as well as the government sector. This category of VTC is also responsible for research and development. At present there are three centres available.
2. Specific Training Centres, which provide training in the fields of agriculture, commerce, welding, tourism, appropriate technology, and maritime work. Nine centres are available for such training.

3. Vocational Training Centres for Industry, which cater to the needs in the industrial community for skills such as mechanical and electrical engineering, automotive, and office work. Seventeen centres are available for developing industrial skills.
4. Vocational Training Centre for Small and Medium Enterprises, which functions as the operational unit to serve the needs of employment in small and medium enterprises. Fourteen centres are available.
5. Small Vocational Training Centres, which consist of VTCs for industry (four centres) and VTCs for small and medium enterprises (99 centres).

As part of the ongoing reformation which started in 1995 (MOM, 1996, 1997), the methodology and the system for vocational training are to be adapted to the new challenges of the present situation. While an institutional-based training system in VTCs remains necessary, the MOM is starting to recognize that a combined training system with the corporate sector is necessary to maintain the relevance of the training services provided. In conjunction with that new development, the MOM is presently testing the 4-7-1 apprenticeship model, in which participants receive four months training at VTCs, followed by seven months working in the company, and one month testing and review. This model is being applied to VTCs established within regions which have a large number of industries. In addition, the government also acknowledges the growing need for vocational training facilities in rural areas following improved education. In response to needs, the MOM has made Mobile Training Units (MTU) available to provide facilities for small-scale industries, especially in the area of agriculture or agricultural processing-skill development. The following are some of the major characteristics of VTCs offered by the MOM.

Curriculum. The curriculum in VTCs is designed according to an international standard for the certification of similar skills and adapted for the level of skills that the participants want to acquire, i.e. (i) basic: 160 contact hours; (ii) intermediate: 640 contact hours; and (iii) advanced level: 960 contact hours. The subject content of the programme is 70 per cent practical work and 30 per cent theory. In addition to the standard programme, however, the MOM's VTCs acknowledge the need for more tailor-made programmes. In such cases, the curriculum is constructed by both VTC instructors and representatives of the company or agency, according to the objectives to be achieved.

Participants. As described earlier, the MOM's VTC admits participants sent by companies or government agencies, as well as those who apply to improve their chances of a job. The latter consist of young out-of-school participants. In many instances, NGOs utilize VTC facilities to help them improve the vocational skills of their target groups.

The minimum requirements for participants of MTUs, formerly, were that the participants should be at least 10 years of age and could demonstrate an adequate level of literacy. The requirements were somewhat modified when the GOI ratified ILO Convention No. 138 in July 1999. Nowadays, the MOM is careful about the age limit and basically prefers to accept participants aged above 15 years (interview with Mr Wahab Bakonang, MSSc.). However, anecdotal data revealed that the median age of participants was about 30 to 35 years. As for the institutional-based VTC, the MOM requires its participants to be ES (or equivalent) graduates. But, mostly, they are JSS graduates.

Unfortunately, there are no available national data on the number of participants of the VTC programme on the basis of their age, gender, nor educational background.

Learning processes and materials. Teaching and learning processes occur in different settings according to the circumstances of the training needs. When the need may be served by the existing facility, most likely the teaching and learning processes occur in the centre. If the objectives of the training require the participants to adapt to the real conditions of their prospective employment, an apprenticeship programme will be applied. This means that the participants must spend up to seven months working in the company before returning to the VTC for summative evaluation. When training is needed in a location or region where a VTC is not within reach, teaching and learning processes will be facilitated by an instructor of the Mobile Training Unit. Learning materials are mostly provided by the MOM, unless certain materials are unavailable and may only be obtained from other sources.

Instructors. In 1997 the total number of instructors employed by the MOM was 3,565, with the following skills and educational background (see *Table 20*).

Table 20. Skills and educational background of VTC instructors *(in number)*

Skills	Educational background					Total
	SSS	D1	D2	D3	Bachelor	
Automotive	216	0	206	0	59	481
Mechanical technology	427	0	288	289	47	1,051
Electronics	392	40	106	46	40	624
Construction	347	0	106	0	23	476
Commerce	222	20	0	0	45	287
Agriculture	308	20	0	0	32	360
Others	244	20	0	0	22	286
Total	**2,156**	**100**	**706**	**335**	**268**	**3,565**

Source: MOM (1997).

The MOM also admits that a total of 393 instructors (11 per cent) have been trained overseas, in Europe and in other Asian countries.

Finances. The initial provision of VTCs was made available with assistance from various sources, e.g. Colombo Plan, ILO, and bilateral assistance. Maintenance and daily operational costs are commonly borne by the state c.q. the MOM. Training costs may be borne by the state when participants are sent by state agencies or when training is conducted as part of a government-subsidized intervention for certain target groups. Otherwise, costs may be paid by the private sector or shared with the government.

Challenges. When the MOM laid down a vocational training reformation plan in 1994, it realized that there were several structural problems facing VTC provision, i.e. (MOM, 1997: 49):

- Training plans are still developed on the basis of available facilities instead of on emerging demands.
- The existing training facilities are mostly inappropriate to the regional economy, and some facilities do not function well.
- Training programmes are generally developed based on basic trade that is not sustainable and not responsive to needs.
- Training programmes are conducted in the VTC (institutional programmes) without any linkages to the available job opportunities in the region.
- Most of the instructors have gained their experience and capabilities from courses and development training. They lack expertise and experience of actually working in industrial establishments.
- The source of budgeting is the State Budget (APBN), which covers only 50 per cent of the costs to cover the maintenance and sustainability of VTCs.
- VTCs' management is centralized and bureaucratic. It lacks the agility and flexibility to respond to local opportunities.

In the context of ongoing reformation, the MOM has started to move towards the provision of professional vocational training. Although the agenda looks good on paper, the actual implementation still faces a number of serious challenges. A recent interview with Ir. Wahab Bakonang, MSSc., an official from Binalattas, MOM, revealed the following:

- Indonesia lacks a well-rounded master plan for industrial development, which results in difficulties of human resources development planning. What is needed is the setting up of a national agenda for training.
- For many reasons data are basically lacking, which consequently complicates evaluation and development of the programme. There are no available national data on characteristics of participants, nor demand from industry/business, output of training, etc. In fact, on the basis of the MOM internal study, some time in the late 1980s, it was even found impossible to expect VTC graduates to report their employment upon graduation from the VTC, which would have enabled the MOM to assess the absorption level of VTC graduates. In the study it was found that only about 13 per cent of graduates were able to be recruited as samples, and from them only about 60 per cent could be followed up, and about 80 per cent of them were well-absorbed into relevant employment. Due to budget restriction, CBS is also unable to help in overcoming this problem, for instance to include vocational training items (as one aspect of educational background) in the census, to help the MOM assess needs and external efficiency.
- A study from JICA (Japan) revealed that the Indonesian remuneration system is mostly still based on the level of (formal) education attainment and not on the basis of individual competence. Consequently, many people are discouraged from spending time taking vocational training in their job preparation. Those who turn up for training usually have less capacity for learning.
- Despite the MOM's effort to upgrade the VTC instructors' ability, their level of education (mostly SSS) has prevented them from adapting quickly and appropriately to the new and more advanced technology.

3. Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA)

The Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA) does have its own training centres. In the context of the MOSA, however, vocational training is usually an integral part of social rehabilitation. In other words, vocational training is utilized as a form of occupational therapy for juvenile delinquents, including drug users, to feel better about themselves. The skill training available in the department includes welding, automotive, electronic, sewing, make-up, etc. Although participants receive certification, the main goal is not skill improvement, but self-sufficiency and self-respect.

In most instances (small) VTCs managed by the MOSA adopt the curriculum and learning materials from the MOM. In fact, the MOSA frequently asks the MOM's instructors to help in teaching their participants. In this case, certification obtained from the MOM is possible (cross-sectoral). Recent accounts of the programme, however, suggest that the programme needs major improvement. Employers find that the skills developed in such vocational centres are already obsolete. This is due to the fact that the facilities have not been improved according to the development of the technology. Machinery and tools are not well maintained and trainers are not sufficiently updated on the current developments (Prijono and Wibowo, 1998).

Non-governmental programmes

It is generally realized that the coverage of government programmes has been very limited. Community organizations and non-governmental organizations have been actively involved in the provision of some sort of education to children who, for one reason or another, are unable to enrol in the regular school programme. During the colonial period, there were a number of groups and individuals providing education to the needy in the form of study

groups or classical tutorials, such as the two-year elementary school or *Sekolah Anga Dua* established by *Yayasan Budi Utomo,* which was endorsed by the colonial government, and literacy courses for girls, which were inspired by the work of *Raden Ajeng Kartini* (Tilaar, 1994). The most well-known of all community organizations was *Yayasan Perguruan Taman Siswa* (established 3 July, 1922). The foundation actively provided '3Rs' education to indigenous Indonesians who were not admitted to the colonial government-controlled schools because they were not from economically well-to-do families. Rather than following the formal school curriculum, the foundation chose to emphasize the role of culture and to nurture a sense of independence. In the context of colonial rule of law, education in the foundation was geared towards nurturing the ability to identify and develop one's own potential. The foundation received wide acceptance and was soon regarded as a counter force by the colonial regime. After independence, the founding father - *Ki Hajar Dewantara* - was recognized as the founding father of the national education. At present, *Yayasan Perguruan Taman Siswa* is still actively involved in the provision of formal education at all levels. Although the curriculum is similar to those in the formal sector, the foundation lays more stress on valuing tradition, rather than adopting the norms of the modern educational institutions.

Apart from community organizations, there were *Pondok Pesantrens* or Koranic Boarding Schools (Ensiklopedi Islam, 1993). In the colonial period, *Pondok Pesantrens* were offering children courses on Islam and Koranic reading; courses were usually delivered in Arabic. Unlike in formal educational institutions, *Pondok Pesantrens* admitted children (then called *Santri*) who were allowed to live in one compound with their teachers (called *Kyai*). The relationship between *Kyais* and their *Santris* was very close. Emotional bonding and respect were maintained even when the *Santris* had completed their education. In 1958/1959 the newly

established government recognized *Pondok Pesantrens* as one component of its national education. At the same time, *Pondok Pesantrens* began to offer courses on basic literacy similar to formal schools. To date, there are over 7,000 *Pesantrens* all over the country. Many *Pesantrens* cater to the needs of the poorest poor. It is very common that a *Kyai* adopts hundreds of children and subsidizes all of their needs. Children participating in a *Pesantren* have to combine work, prayer and study. Approximately 60 per cent of student-teachers' contact hours are dedicated to religious studies and 40 per cent to learning materials similar to those in formal school. Most *Pesantrens* also develop their own vocational training, since many of these institutions survive by means of micro to small business. At present some *Pesantrens* have their own NGOs serving the needs of their community other than in religious studies (such as *Fattayat* in the Nahdhatul Ulama, which is concerned with health and nutrition).

In this report, the authors are more concerned with the development of community-based organizations which may have some linkages with religious organizations, but are more secular. These NGOs fill the gap between the need for education in the society and the ability of the government and other establishments – traditional or modern – to cater for those needs. Although the format of NGO-provided education varies according to the mission and vision of the institution, characteristics of target groups, and institutional capacity (professionally and financially) – many similarities may be found between NGOs and government programmes.

Basic literacy programmes

Many NGOs working for disadvantaged children adopt government programmes, especially the Package A and B programmes. In this regard, these NGOs are usually well connected to MOEC district offices and are able to secure government support for their programmes. In some cases, these NGOs are part of, or backed up by,

large-based organizations – such as religious organizations – or have board members who are well connected. This is not to say, of course, that government institutions help only such organizations. Other organizations, however, find it harder to convince government institutions that they are reliable and seriously interested in helping disadvantaged children.

Successful co-operation between a community organization and a government institution, such as the MOEC, starts with building up mutual trust between both institutions. It is easier said, however, than done. For a long time, non-governmental organizations have been very critical of the government, especially when it comes to the sensitivity of a programme to the needs of the beneficiaries and the quality control of the implementation. Many NGOs have claimed that government programmes are implemented without proper assessment of local needs. They criticize the implementer for sticking to the Technical Guidance (*Petunjuk Teknis – Juknis*) and the Implementation Guidance (*Petunjuk Pelaksanaan – Juklak*), which are designed in Headquarters (Jakarta) without sufficient knowledge of the local realities (Indonesia is a large country, with many variations). In addition, many NGOs have observed that government programmes are poorly monitored, due to serious limitations of funds and community participation.

The government (GOI), on the other hand, perceives community organizations – especially those which call themselves NGOs or LSM (*Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat*) – as radicals or revolutionary critics of government programmes. The government feels that NGOs' criticisms are unfounded, since they are usually based on cases of minor incidence. Other than that, there is a strong impression among GOI officials that most NGOs are backed by international communities which are trying to impose international trade restrictions because of human rights issues – therefore they are not entitled to GOI assistance (Mboi and Irwanto, 1998). When an NGO is backed up by a

strong alliance of religious communities, such as the *Muhammadiyah* or *Nadhatul Ulama,* or the like, the GOI is very cautious. However, these NGOs tend to keep a low profile and to seek co-operation with the government, rather than just opposing it.

Given the variety of contexts, opportunities and challenges in programme development, there are a number of different approaches to basic literacy education employed by NGOs. To summarize all the basic literacy programmes provided by NGOs, below is a general description of each approach, followed by further details of selected provisions which could be regarded as examples of the variety, as well as best practices (in boxes).

(1) Programmes following the National Curriculum

Curriculum. Many NGOs adopt the 1994 National Curriculum when they apply the packaged model such as the *Kejar Paket A or B,* with no or very little modification. The implementation of the programme may reveal some deviations from government implementation due to local adjustment, but generally the spirit of the programme is the National Curriculum and Package A and B approach.

Students. This kind of programme mostly caters for children who have come from very poor families and who were most probably economically active. Many of the learners in this programme were working children in such places as plantation estates, cottage industries, and in the informal sector, such as in a fishing village or rubbish-dump site, or in the street.

Learning processes and materials. Learning processes vary according to the characteristics of each NGO's target group. For some, learning occurs in a school-like environment – either utilizing existing facilities owned by the community or religious group, or renting a house which functions as a drop-in centre. Those NGOs (e.g.

Muhammadiyah - Weleri and *Paramitra*) which follow the MOEC approach basically utilize MOEC materials. A tutorial meeting is usually scheduled weekly, although the frequency varies from one provision to another, depending on the local situation. At the end of the programme, children are usually encouraged to take an equivalency examination and are basically ready to return to mainstream education.

Instructors. Some NGOs, such as *Paramitra* (Malang) and *Muhammadiyah* (Weleri) are able to include instructors from the local schools or *Pesantrens*. The majority of NGOs, however, recruit their instructors from among volunteers (SSS or college students) working with their programmes.

Finances. Most of the finances are borne by the community or by sponsors/donor agencies. International donor agencies such as the Ford Foundation, Terre des Hommes, ILO, UNICEF, USAID, Aus-AID etc. play a significant role in providing expertise and funds for the alternative education of the young disadvantaged in Indonesia. Some NGOs, like the *Muhammadiyah* in Weleri, however, were able to secure state funds for Package A tutors. As for the equivalency examination, finances are supported by the government as this kind of programme is usually run in a relatively well-connected way to the district office of the MOEC.

Challenges. Challenges to this provision are mostly similar to the MOEC programme for Package A and B. A more particular problem is, however, inexperienced and non-specialist tutors/instructors employed by the NGO. This is naturally a difficult problem to untangle, as the basis for employment in most cases is voluntary and there is almost no financial reward for the tutors.

Below are examples of the provision, reflecting some variations

within the basically same type of programme. These are *Paramitra*, *Muhammadiyah* - Weleri, LPKP and YBP.

Paramitra Foundation, Malang, East Java

The success of this NGO lies in the fact that the initiators of the programme worked very hard to combine the capacities of the community, which included the religious community, the government, through some of its technical departments, the international input (which was IPEC/ILO), and the private sector, the companies which hired parents and children as employees.

As indicated in *Box 2*, many children were working in the plantation areas. In an assessment for IPEC/ILO, Indriyanto and Jiyono (1996) found that most parents felt that the involvement of children was unavoidable since the wage system was not based on daily work, but on the number of outputs/products. Even when workers received daily wages, the sum was too small to enable the whole family to survive. In a rubber plantation company, for example, the average number of trees to be tapped in a day was 400 to 500 trees - an impossible task for one worker. A worker in the tobacco plantation received Rp.3,000/day (or equal to US$1.40 in that year). The help of a child would add an additional Rp.2,000 to the family income. A child who helped parents working on the plantation would receive Rp.500 from his/her parents. Of course, no social or health benefits were provided by the company.

Through very complicated negotiations with a number of parties, the foundation was able to set up a basic literacy programme. This programme does not only provide basic literacy education, but also vocational training as well as nutritional enrichment for the children. As described above, the *Paramitra* Foundation represents community organizations which were backed up by major religious communities.

Box 2. *Paramitra* Foundation

Helping working children through the spirit of the 'Kyais'

The *Paramitra* Foundation was established in 1986 by a small group of concerned university professors and students to improve the welfare of poor communities in the plantation areas in East Java through innovative income-generating activities. In 1994, the foundation conducted a survey[10] in six villages in two sub-districts where its programme activities were implemented. Among 250 working children (rubber sap taking, planting and processing tobacco, coffee picking, etc.) whom they interviewed, 53 per cent of them were girls aged 10 to 15 years and 43 per cent were under 12 years old; half of them did not go to school any more. Children who worked as rubber sap takers had to leave their homes at 03.00 a.m. and returned at 10.00 a.m. In the tobacco-processing companies, children worked as adults from 07.00 a.m. to 16.00 p.m. Naturally, they were most likely deprived of schooling, play, and recreation.

To help those children to receive or continue their education, the *Paramitra* Foundation worked out a plan involving employers or overseers, parents, local Islamic boarding schools or *Pondok Pesantrens*,and government institutions – especially the district MOEC, MOSA, and Manpower offices.

Pondok Pesantrens played a major role in the strategy. Through religious affinity, the foundation gets very easy access to the facilities and other support (such as teachers) from a number of *Pondok Pesantrens* – especially the *Pondok Pesantren Madinatul Ulum*, one of the oldest and most influential. Since most children work as unpaid workers helping their parents, *Paramitra* was able to convince some employers and parents that children's education would be beneficial for both the children and the factory. *Paramitra* asked that children be released from their jobs every morning from 07.00 to 10.00 a.m. to study at the *Pesantren*. A total of 32 tutors were paid by the foundation. Twelve of them had senior high-school qualification and the rest had higher/college education. In academic year 1997/1998 the programme had accommodated 700 children (305 boys and 395 girls).[11] A total of 54 students had passed the ES equivalent examination. In the same academic year, the numbers of applicants for ES and JSS equivalent examinations were 60 and 40 students respectively.

10. The survey was part of a proposal to be submitted to the IPEC/ILO.
11. The children were 175 coffee pickers, 273 rubber sap takers, 217 tobacco-company workers and 35 children of other categories.

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▩ Muhammadiyah Weleri, Kendal, Central Java

Another NGO which does similar work in Central Java is the *Muhammadiyah Weleri*[12], Kendal, Central Java. This organization was assisted by IPEC/ILO to provide basic literacy education and vocational training to children from fishing villages in the surrounding areas. A similar success story may be attributed to this organization. The keys to its success are similar, i.e.:

1. Early contact with the authority to inform it of the inception of a basic literacy programme for the poor.
2. Use of political leverage from the larger religious organizations to secure government support.
3. Active promotion within and among the communities to be served, facilitated by local religious leaders.
4. Recruitment of young and enthusiastic facilitators, who were provided with specific knowledge and skills - especially CRC (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) and outreach skills.
5. Help given to the private sector to see the benefits of helping social development programmes, such as providing basic literacy and vocational skills to children.

Muhammadiyah Weleri was able to get workshop facilities from an automotive company (ASTRA). The company helped the organization by sending its own technicians to help train facilitators and the children in automotive (motor boat and motorcycle engines) skills. *Muhammadiyah* was also able to send the children to obtain certification in vocational training from the Ministry of Manpower.

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12. *Muhammadiyah* is the second largest Muslim organization. While the *Nahdhatul Ulama* (NU) is usually associated with the traditional Muslim in Indonesia, *Muhammaddiyah* is associated with intellectual Muslims. As a social and religious organization *Muhammadiyah* owns a full range of educational institutions and medical facilities. Like NU, *Muhammadiyah* is a very influential organization. *Weleri* is a district town in Central Java.

▩ LPKP (The Institute for Community and Development Studies), East Java

The *Lembaga Pengkajian Kemasyarakatan dan Pembangunan* (LPKP – the Institute for Community and Development Studies)[13] was established in 1989 by a small group of university lecturers – especially lecturers in the Faculty of Education and Teacher Training, with the help of the Terre des Hommes of the Netherlands, and other international donor agencies, to help peasant communities in East Java, particularly around the municipality of *Malang*, including rural areas in Jember and Kediri. Although LPKP is led by NU Muslim scholars, the organization has not received formal backing from any religious organizations. In 1992, LPKP began their services for children aged 6 to 16 who had not finished their schooling and who had either dropped out or discontinued their study after completing ES.

In a survey of children aged 5 to 16 in two villages (Gunungrejo Village, Lalang Village), there were 1,589 children out of 3,789, or almost 42 per cent, not in school. While in Toyomarto Village, there were 1,921 children aged 10 to 15 years working in the tea, coffee, and chocolate plantations, and 335 boys and 335 girls working in the cigarette trade, traditional medicine industry, and footwear companies. Some of the major push factors were poverty, low educational aspiration of parents, and geographical isolation[14]. In 1993-1995 LPKP provided tuition and expenses for 348 children to go back to school[15]. In 1995 alone, 95 ES and 92 JSS students were enrolled in schools. At the end of the year, 21 students were able to complete their ES-level education and 11 students completed their JSS-level education.

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13. LPKP is an NGO which originally worked to help farmers with small business. The ILO/IPEC programme was an extension to its original mission.
14. In isolated areas in Java, most villages already have their own ES. The JSS, however, will be situated at the sub-district level, where transportation may be difficult and expensive.
15. Assisted by IPEC/ILO.

YBP (Bintang Pancasila Foundation) - Bekasi

Another NGO working for the disadvantaged is the Bintang Pancasila Foundation (*Yayasan Bintang Pancasila* - YBP) (see *Box 3*). This organization was established by a social worker who is also a civil servant in the Department of Social Affairs. For 15 years, the foundation has been helping street children and their families. In 1995, the foundation was assisted by ILO/IPEC and technically assisted by LPKP to develop a programme to reduce the time that children spent scavenging in the dump-site area in Bantar Gebang, Bekasi. It believes that these children deserve better chances than their parents had. They do not have to become scavengers all their lives. To untangle the vicious circle of poverty, however, these children need better education.

The education that is provided by YBP runs for four hours a day (07.30 a.m. to 11.30 a.m.) for six days a week. Children who work for more than five hours a day are rather difficult to fit into the programme. For these children, YBP provides recreational activities.

YBP is still struggling to obtain the support of parents. Considering the nature of the work (very hazardous), only children would manage to work long hours without much complaint. It is understandable, therefore, that children are seen as valuable economic assets by parents, who consequently do not allow them to join the programme. In some cases, when children have learned how to read, write, and count, their parents will pull them out from the programme.

Box 3. *Bintang Pancasila* Foundation* (YBP)

Helping children in the dump-site area

The last rubbish dump-site area in Bantar Gebang - Bekasi (108 hectares), east of Jakarta, is home to a scavengers' community. In a 1997 survey, there were approximately 2,249 individuals, 628 households, and 1,220 children aged 18 years and under, or 428 children aged 7 to 15 years. Half of those children were not in school.

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All the inhabitants in the dump-site were migrants who had no proper identity papers[16]. Many of them worked from 04.00 a.m. to 11.00 a.m. and continued from 18.00 p.m. to 24.00 at night - including children, who were running after trucks and scavenging alongside tractors shovelling rubbish. A number of children had been killed - drawn into the rubbish pit, run over by tractors, or overturned by the rubbish truck. The mission of YBP was to plan harm-reduction interventions and to slowly pull these children out of the dump site.

In such an area, there were no school facilities into which children might enrol. When they wanted to go to school, they had to enrol themselves in schools outside of the community, which might not have enough seats for them, although some families managed to put their children in regular schools. Some families, however, were simply too poor to send their children to school, or very ignorant. After securing the support of the guards of the dump site and informal leaders in the area, YBP was able to convince parents to let their children attend a study group organized by social workers at a hut near the dump site. Instead of providing non-formal education through the Package A Programme, YBP utilized regular ES learning course materials. In 1996 YBP was able to set up a 'transition school' in a rented house - not recognized by the government, not even supported by the local authority - although it was not banned.

It set up classes for children and learning course materials from grade I to grade V, where each child would have had his/her own academic report, just like in any formal school. Later, when children had completed all course materials for grade VI, YBP would use its connections to put children in a regular ES in grade VI for the final examination. In addition to the course materials, YBP included learning materials which would help children to understand their rights[17] and see a wider horizon of opportunities for their future. At present, 207 children are registered in the programme, although only 168 of them regularly attend classes.

Last year, YBP received Japanese Government development aid to build a school in the area. YBP is also collaborating with the Atma Jaya Medical Faculty, the Population Council, and the Indonesian Association of Paediatricians, to provide primary health services - especially to eradicate parasitic diseases such as worm - for the children in its school.

* *The Bintang Pancasila Foundation has recently been replaced by the Yayasan Dinamika Indonesia.*

16. The existence of the scavenger community is a paradox in the Jakarta Greater Area. They are not considered residents of the municipalities of Bekasi and Jakarta for they have no proper identity papers - for that reason, the community is deprived of any state welfare and health services normally provided for residents.
17. YBP works very closely with the Centre for Societal Development Studies and Atma Jaya, to promote the CRC among the scavenger community.

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(ii) A specifically constructed literacy programme

Responding to the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the Package A and B approach for economically active children, NGOs have readily agreed to the idea of constructing specific literacy modules for these children. There have been a few attempts to realize this idea, for instance the literacy modules for working children (funded by ILO/IPEC and constructed with the support of the MOEC) and street children (funded and supported by UNICEF). However, the first initiative was turned down as not being applicable and specific enough for the vast variety of working children, and the second has just begun.

Curriculum. Basically trying not to go too much against the mainstream, the curriculum is adapted from Package A and B. Adjustment is primarily targeted to contextualize the achievement standard to the children's situation.

Students. As mentioned above, students for this programme are working children, both in the formal and informal sectors. However, a particular programme is designed for a specific target group. So the one constructed for street children, consequently, will only be studied and benefited from by street children.

Learning processes and materials. Learning from the difficulty faced by the child to spare time attending tutorial meetings, this programme offers very flexible meetings in terms of time, place and frequency. Basically, it also tries to be more individualized in response to each child's need and condition. Learning materials are specifically constructed to be relevant to the child's life context.

Tutors. As in other NGO programmes, tutors are mostly semi-voluntary-based and activists for the operating NGO. In many cases these tutors are not trained, although they may be university graduates.

Finances. The provision is free for children and all operational costs are usually borne by the NGO, with support from funding agencies most of the time.

Challenges. This kind of programme has just started, especially the one for street children. There is no critical and systematic evaluation on the effectiveness of the provision, which results in two difficulties. First, no evaluation may mean no tools for revision. Second, no evaluation may also mean no information on whether it is beneficial for children at all, and even worth giving.

Being sufficiently targeted as a literacy programme, greater flexibility offered in this programme may pose a greater risk for superficiality of the educational practice, resulting in ineffectiveness. As mentioned, the curriculum of this programme allows an individual standard of achievement. Such an individual approach will lose its strength when it is not combined with a certain determination and discipline to achieve an (individual) target. When an individualized programme implies no target at all, however individual, then a programme could be considered nonexistent. On the part of the tutor, the inability to serve as an effective tutor is obviously risky too. Although there is no ultimate guarantee that a trained tutor will perform better than an untrained one, one cannot deny that a quality tutorial does involve the application of pedagogical principles which should be learned somewhere, if not at school or training sessions.

Following is a description of Bahtera Foundation, as one example of this type of programme.

- Bahtera Foundation, Bandung

An NGO in Bandung, *Bahtera* Foundation takes a specific approach to the street children coming and going to and from the Open House (a shelter) provided for them. Established in 1995 by a group of social workers – graduates of a four-year Social Work College (STKS) in Bandung – the foundation serves poor children who live on the street and have nowhere to go at night. The foundation sends social workers to places where children work and spend the night and runs a small shelter close to the bus station. This outreach is then combined with a street-based basic literacy programme offering reading, writing, and simple arithmetic skills on the spot. The study usually takes place in the afternoon after the lunch hour and before the evening rush hours.

At present, *Bahtera* is assisted by UNICEF to formulate its own modules. Four modules have been written (partly by children) and published, comprising the following key themes: reading-writing-arithmetic, living in a community, gaining of skills, and the rights of the child. These modules have only very recently been implemented, and no evaluation of the effectiveness of the modules, and of the approach, has yet been conducted. In addition, these modules may be regarded as preparatory modules before children are ready for the government Package A equivalency programme.

(iii) Embedded literacy programme

Some NGOs can be called the hardliners: they see that the best learning does not always occur inside the classroom and that it is not only the government that supposedly has the power to determine what children need to learn. They believe that children's participation in the selection and design of learning materials and the way they want to study those materials should be appreciated. So, however they perceive basic literacy as a must for any child, they would prefer to have the programme embedded in other activities chosen by children.

Curriculum. Being an embedded programme, there is practically no systematic curriculum specifically designed for literacy education. The programme is highly tailor-made so as to allow children to participate in the process of their own empowerment, aiming at minimal reading, writing and arithmetic ability.

The key to success is the tutor's ability to develop a method to deliver the embedded 'mission', to make and follow individual progress records, and to have a clear focus to improve each child's '3Rs' ability.

Students. This type of education is perceived as the most suitable for street children, who are usually set free by their street lifestyle. These children often find it difficult to take anything structured, especially when it is related to schooling. Therefore, such embeddedness is important to ensure the child's acceptance.

Other student groups of this type of programme would depend on the NGO, which anticipates a participatory process of education and, first, inner self-improvement to lay the foundation for fundamental self-motivation for learning. The students could be rural children or others.

Learning processes and materials. As mentioned, learning in this kind of programme can be done anywhere, any time. Students basically set their own pace, which should be responded to by tutors.

No specific learning modules/materials are employed, so as to make learning a part of the child's everyday life. For instance, if the child is a street singer reporting his/her income today to his/her 'tutor', it is timely for the tutor to deliver an arithmetic lesson specifically to that child. In short, it is hands-on, embedded, very contextualized to the child's everyday life/experiences.

Tutors. A 'tutor' in this programme is not called a 'tutor'. They are more field workers or outreach workers, who mingle and are involved in the everyday life, even lifestyle, of the child, so their service is usually more general, more holistic, not just for literacy or any other part of the service.

'Tutors' are mostly activists of the NGO and, as in other provisions, they are unlikely to have been trained to be a tutor, although most of them have had at least SSS education. Voluntarism is heavily operated in this case.

Finances. Of course the programme is free for children. All costs are borne by the NGO, usually with significant support from international funding agencies.

Challenges. The role of the tutor in this programme is of ultimate importance. Being an embedded programme with a more holistic approach, the tutor should be able to turn any situation into an educational experience, a learning process. This is easier said than done, as the tutor should be well-equipped with various learning methodologies, creativity, attentiveness and responsiveness, stamina and a lot of patience and genuine interest in the child's improvement. Without proper tutor training, the quality of the provision is questionable.

Still in relation to the above notion, the embeddedness of the programme may well lose its focus. And without determination to achieve some standard of ability, how can we be sure of its effectiveness, even in the most qualitative way of evaluation? Indeed, there has been no report on this matter.

Two examples are given below to reveal different flavours of this type of provision.

Humana Foundation, Yogyakarta

One of these NGOs is *Humana*, one of the oldest NGOs in the country, which takes care of the hard-core street children in Yogyakarta (see *Box 4*). Established in 1988, this NGO tries to tackle the problem of street children in a comprehensive and holistic manner. The reason why hard-core street children have left their homes and families is not only poverty, although poverty plays a major part in what happens in their families. Many run away from their homes due to domestic violence involving father, mother, step-parents, or significant others. Many come from afar, for example Bandung (West Java), Jakarta, Lampung (Sumatra), Padang (Sumatra), Medan (Sumatra) or Ujung Pandang (Sulawesi). Other than poverty and domestic violence, some children were left by parents during a natural disaster or after their death. To help those children who have been traumatized in their homes and who are trying to survive on the street, much more than education is needed.

Humana believes that the most important aspect in their intervention for these children is empowerment. These children need to be recognized as children like other children who have dignity and self-pride. Their existence also needs to be acknowledged ('demarginalized') since it is only through this acknowledgment that these children will see themselves as human beings like others. When one is able to destigmatize these children, one is able to work with them and is maybe able to help them change their behaviour. One useful means of empowerment is the monthly street-based magazine called Jejal Malioboro, in which children are encouraged to put their experiences, feelings and aspirations in writings and drawings. No, or very minimal, editing is conducted. In the latest development of the magazine, children are trained to do their own investigative reports. Jejal Malioboro is the widest-subscribed, street-based magazine in the country. It has subscribers in Indonesia and elsewhere in the world (especially Europe, where a number of volunteers come from).

Box 4. *Humana* Foundation

Empowerment of the street community

Humana defines education very broadly, ranging between basic literacy, values clarification, survival skills, and vocational competences. This broad definition serves the beneficiaries well since this NGO serves under-fives on the street to those aged 18 years, boys and girls. From those who are very dependent, to adults, to the wildest child on the street.

More organized learning for street children began in 1992, when *Humana* joined a network of NGOs called RESCUE[18] . This network comprised five NGOs, four in Jakarta and one in Yogyakarta. *Humana*, however, did not participate in the network fully, since its stance on the issue was quite different from the other NGOs. As part of participation, *Humana* also received technical assistance, especially for institutional management and programme development. In the context of its basic literacy programme, *Humana* decided to implement street-based literacy.

Learning materials were developed by social workers, who were assisted by children. Daily problems encountered by children were utilized as illustrations. Most of the drawings were created by children. *Humana* found, however, that if most children were able to read and write, only very young children needed its help to aquire basic literacy skills. In such a case, a social worker would personally assist the child all the way, either on the street or in the shelter. When a number of children needed similar attention, a small group tutorial might be held. Many children would like to improve their writing skills because they like to write for the Newsletter - Jejal Malioboro. They also have learning materials which deal with health issues, including STD and HIV/AIDS.

In 1997 *Humana* did an experiment with a very organized and classical learning activity called the Street University. Children were quarantined[19] for nine months in a camping site outside of town (they called it the Campus) and studied with the help of individuals who had specific expertise, such as lawyers, batik painters, health workers (who especially understood STD and HIV/AIDS) and artists. A total of 25 children participated in the process, but only 15 of them completed the whole course. These children were certified by *Humana*. An evaluation conducted afterwards, however, suggested that street children preferred

18. Reaching Street Children in the Urban Environment, a USAID sponsored project 1992-1996 implemented by an international PVO - Private Agency Collaborating Together (PACT), in partnership with local NGOs.

19. Quarantine was the term used by children.

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to study in a more flexible manner, and especially not being taken from the street.

In 1998, *Humana* established a Training House at Ploso Kuning (called the Ploso Kuning Campus). On this campus, children learn various useful vocational skills. The products are seriously polished by skilful facilitators and marketed. This exercise has been able to generate income for the organization and to boost the self-esteem of the children. *Humana* holds regular exhibitions of the work of street children, to market the products but also to create room for public dialogue on the problem of street children. This model appears to be the one that will be sustained by *Humana*.

The above-mentioned conception of the problem is not shared with many other NGOs, and especially not with the government. The GOI would say that street children represent the failure of families and, to some extent, of the state. In other words, street children are a phenomenon that should not have happened. For a long time, the GOI denied the existence of street children. It was only in 1995[20] that the government recognized them and began to look for approaches that might help these children. One should be aware, however, that the GOI is not entertaining any ideas according to which street children should be allowed to live on the street, with the government and the community obliged to provide them with better protection and more humane treatment. For the government, it is imperative that these children should return to their families.

Langkah Bocah Foundation, Yogyakarta

On the slope of the Merapi Volcano in Yogyakarta, lies a village called *Dusun Ngandong*. A group of four college students observed that many school-aged children in this village were not in school and worked as manual workers, lifting and carrying sand and stone for a

20. When UNDP – after consulting with many NGOs working for street children – offered the MOSA a long-term project to overcome the problem of street children.

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check-dam construction project. To help these children receive more education, these students formed a group called 'Steps of a Child' (*Langkah Bocah*).

Langkah Bocah believes that education should be contextualized within the culture and should involve all members of the community. A total of 50 children aged 4 to 13 years was recruited into its programmes. Members of the community that could contribute in any way to the programmes were identified and informed. A village meeting was held and arrived at a consensus that children would like to learn drama, drawing, traditional dance, cooking, and to have a library. A reading and lending library was set up to provide children and adults with a place to learn new information. A *Sanggar* (theatre workshop) was built as a place to practise and perform traditional dances and music, as well as to discuss important matters concerning the village.

Rather than setting up study groups for learning school-like course materials, *Langkah Bocah* took a different path. It emphasizes the importance of improving self-esteem, teamwork, building up self-sufficiency, creativity and willingness to create, self-expression, and positive response to the environment. Contents of each activity, e.g. drama, are discussed among children and between children and the facilitators at least once a week. Reading skills and improvement is an important part of its intervention, since all of the activities require children to write and tell. Formative evaluation is conducted by children themselves, facilitated by instructors.

Langkah Bocah is aware that its presence may create dependency. Since the inception of the programme, the four students always stressed participation and autonomous decision-making processes. They also created opportunities for parents and other adults in the village to be involved in taking important decisions. One of the

indicators of success is when those children express themselves in the following manner '*Gene awake dhewe isa*!' – a Javanese expression, telling others "After all, we can do it ourselves!".

▒ A few other examples

Similar processes are happening in other areas of the country. In Medan, an NGO called KKSP is conducting street-based education for scavengers and street children. *Laskar Mandiri* Foundation, in the same city, established its own school in the corner of market places to help very young children of poor merchants who have no time to take care of their children during busy morning hours. In Jakarta, the *Dian Mitra* Foundation has a similar programme for children in traditional market places. *Bina Mitra Sejati* opened up shelters for children in bus stations and market places in Ambon and provides them with various services, including health and education. No studies, however, have ever looked at the effectiveness and efficiency of such provisions.

Vocational training programmes

(i) NGO initiatives

As briefly mentioned earlier, many NGOs do provide vocational programmes for disadvantaged children. NGOs' programmes offer various skills development, such as carpentry, silk-screen printing, accessories braiding, clay designs (e.g. ashtray), card-making – which are most common – or other, less common, craftsmanship such as dressmaking and recycling goods.

Generally speaking, NGOs design their programmes for three reasons: namely, to enhance children's positive self-regard and self-confidence, to provide alternative income-generating activities, and to build specific skills. In this regard, the NGO usually offers more than

one, but not too many activities, and the children may choose which one of those that they want to pursue. Most of the time, the programme is held in shelters or learning centres, although a few activities, such as accessories braiding, may take place on the spot when the social worker reaches out.

One serious challenge to this type of provision concerns what kind of skills are marketable and feasible for the target group. From the authors' observation, most NGOs provide only activities within their limited capacities in regard to two issues. First, regarding the trainers. In many cases NGOs do not hire professional trainers. In other words, they use the capacity of their own staff to deliver the programme. The advantage of using their own staff is, of course, that the schedule of activities can be very flexible. Children may be served during certain scheduled times, but also in their free time or during reach-out activities. Moreover, the strategy is cost-efficient. On the other hand, however, this strategy may be ineffective and difficult to sustain due to lack of expertise and dependency on voluntary workers.

Secondly, most NGOs are usually restricted in a number of other resources, such as finance and ability to cultivate resources outside the organization. The financial limitations impose serious restrictions on providing materials and tools for the programme. Although the opportunities to collaborate with external funding agencies, and to build technical co-operation with other non-profit organizations, are enormous, most NGOs do not have the capacity to develop their own public-relation skills. In many instances, it is the NGO that is reluctant to open up for one reason or another. The implication is clear, NGOs are limited in their ability to learn from other similar initiatives, and hence to develop their own programmes.

Another challenge to be confronted is the ability of NGOs to market the products once children's skills are improved. This issue

challenges NGOs in four domains. First, the domain of self-esteem – where children may be 'bounced up and down again' when realizing that no one seems interested in what they have produced. Secondly, the objectives of the income-generating activities that are not achieved when children cannot earn better income after improving their skills. Thirdly, the domain of sustainability of the programme. Fourthly, funds quickly run out without any income to continue the activities.

The motivation of children to join the activities: during the authors' observations they were impressed by the fact that many children were not very serious in taking the pre-vocational/vocational programmes. Many of them may see the programme as part of recreational rather than productive activities. As a consequence, they do not gear themselves to get the most from the programme and to produce the best to compete in the market. Unfortunately, there are some perceptions among NGO staffs that disadvantaged children's products simply cannot compete with those produced by "more educated, more skilful people" (field interview). Of course, one may argue that such an attitude reflects the fact that the selection of activities is not bottom-up. As described earlier, children are 'forced' to choose available activities (due to NGOs' limitations) regardless of their interest and prior abilities.

In that regard, *Humana* had realized earlier that the key to its success would be the willingness of its children to seriously learn the skills, and their hard work to achieve the possible outcomes. In the Ploso Kuning Campus, activities were selected through a bottom-up process and careful recruitment of children. In addition, *Humana* hired professional craftsmen to help with the finishing touch. To increase visibility of the programme and improve the marketing of its products, *Humana* often organized public dialogues, exhibitions, and established linkages with foreign volunteers to market its

products overseas. The *Anak Merdeka* Foundation (YAM), yet another NGO in Bandung, also hires professional artists and craftsmen to train its children and to market their products.

(ii) Private vocational training establishments

There are numerous private vocational training establishments in Indonesia, although most of them operate in urban areas and, as such, are not readily accessible for the target group of this report, since these establishments usually require some tuition fees. For these reasons, this type of alternative education will not be discussed at length. Nevertheless, it should be well noted that some of the establishments, usually those with the right mission of doing 'business' in an education field, provide scholarships or tuition waiver for impoverished participants.

These provisions offer a vast variety of vocational training, from computer literacy through bartending, up to baby-sitting. They are more demand-driven, so much to the point that many of them disregard the need to follow standardization of quality provision. On one side, this is the result of an endeavour to offer more affordable educational provision – sometimes at the expense of its quality; on the other side, it can be seen as the consequence of dubious standardization efforts made by the government.

In order to operate legally and to validate the completion certificate for the graduates, such establishments should acquire endorsement from the government. There are two Ministries responsible for giving approval, i.e. the MOEC and the MOM. Unfortunately, there is no clear distinction between the role of the MOEC and the MOM in this regard. Anecdotal information reveals that the establishments which focus on knowledge-based training should register with the MOEC, whereas establishments that

emphasize skills training should obtain approval from the MOM. Many establishment owners who could not pinpoint their own focus would take the safest path, and register with both Ministries. Overlapping data on the provision as collected by the MOEC and the MOM cannot be avoided, consequently.

Survival skill programmes

Although most NGOs have their own survival skill programmes, as previously mentioned, three initiatives are worth discussing in this paper.

▒ RESCUE AIDS programme

In 1996 - after an external review and assessment of the RESCUE programme in Indonesia (Irwanto et al., 1995) - it was realized that reproductive health was a very important issue which needed to be taken care of when developing programmes for street children. In the assessment, Irwanto et al. (1995) suggested that most street children were exposed - directly and indirectly - to the issue of sex. The hard core of street children is engaged in sexual intercourse with male and female, voluntarily or forced, and with other children or adults. In interviews conducted during the assessment, more than half of the interviewees suggested some indications of STDs, such as itchy and burning sensation in the genitals. Discussion with street educators and heads of the foundations (NGOs) revealed that most of them were aware that these children often engaged in unsafe sexual behaviour, but that they were not able to do anything, since they were not intellectually and emotionally prepared to discuss such matters with children.

Considering the risks that children might have to encounter when not well-informed about safer sexual conduct and reproductive

21. An NGO based in Jakarta which is actively engaged in issues of reproductive health (family planning, STD and HIV/AIDS) and eradication of parasitic diseases among poor communities.

health, RESCUE and the *Kusuma Buana* Foundation[21] teamed up to provide street educators with training in STD and HIV/AIDS and to publish information for them and street children on the matter. All of the publications were in popular formats, such as comic books, poker cards, snakes-and-ladders games, etc. The programme was terminated in 1996, due to the end of USAID support for such programmes in Indonesia.

▒ Atma Jaya Drug Prevention programme

In 1993-1996, Atma Jaya Catholic University, especially the research unit[22], had received assistance from the European Economic Community to develop a drug prevention programme for various target groups. One of the target groups was NGOs working for street children and at-risk youth. Since Atma Jaya does not have any direct service units for street children, the programme was designed to improve the capacity of NGO participants in problem identification and counselling. Sessions of one-week training of trainers, involving counsellors and peer educators, were conducted in several cities, Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Palembang (Sumatra) and Batam Island. A small book for facilitators on basic information on drugs was published.

▒ Primary health care for working children

Since 1995, the research unit of Atma Jaya Catholic University has received assistance from Aus-AID in the form of small-grant initiatives. In 1997/1998, Atma Jaya designed a capacity-building programme for 13 NGOs in Java and Ambon to deal with the fact that working children, including street children, tend to self-medicate when suffering injuries and illnesses. In collaboration with *Masyarakat Sehat* Foundation – a health-provider NGO in Bandung – the authors

22. Centre for Societal Development Studies (CSDS).

designed training for street educators and social workers to deal with frequent infections and injuries and to administer first-aid measures. To help them in their work, four guidebooks for them and four pocket books for children were published. The guidebooks cover the following topics:

1. First aid and the referral system.
2. Occupational health risks for working children in the industrial and agricultural sectors.
3. Health problems that commonly occur among working children.
4. Early diagnosis for behavioural problems among children and how to handle them.

The booklets/pocket books deal with oral hygiene, skin diseases, respiratory infections, eye infections, and other diseases. All these books are distributed free to all participating institutions and those who need such materials.

V. TRENDS AND CHALLENGES IN PROVIDING ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION FOR THE YOUNG DISADVANTAGED

Lessons learned

Before going into more detail of lessons learned, there is a need to elaborate the authors' most general observation. Children grow very fast. Any programme that responds to the fact that many children grow without adequate education should be delivered on time, which means that as soon as possible the programme should be readily available for children who are out of school. Catching up is more difficult than continuing one's education although in a different setting. It should be acknowledged, however, that children are not masters of their own destiny. Parents and, in some cases, the larger community, decide for them. Based on the above observation, the authors would like to submit the following lessons learned.

Involving the community

In all of the programmes reviewed, it is very obvious that helping the children individually, either through tuition and transportation vouchers or other subsidies, does not guarantee full and continued child participation. On the other hand, although a programme may suffer some financial limitations, when the community – parents and other members of the community – begins to value education for its children, there is always a way to find support for the sustainability of a programme. It is important, therefore, that before any alternative education programmes are introduced to a community, a lot of work is done to raise awareness and appreciation among members of the community towards the forthcoming investments. Opportunities to open

dialogue between parents and the providers need to be created and facilitated by community leaders prior to programme implementation.

Small is beautiful

Results from pilot projects show that most government programmes were successful. The latest instance is the visiting-teacher model in Kalimantan. But once it becomes a national programme, the quality is rather difficult to maintain. Two interpretations could be drawn from the fact.

First, success may be the desirable outcome which one should demonstrate to get the whole project going. Therefore, the government puts every effort into making the pilot project a success story. It also implies that when the government is very serious in implementing a programme, innovative and thoughtful endeavours in all areas (i.e. financial administration, selection of human resources, the teaching-learning processes, project monitoring, and so on) may be expected.

Secondly, it may be successful due to the manageable scale of the programme. As a pilot project, a programme usually takes form in small-scale activities. It is, of course, easier to manage a programme in such a scale as one may more simply ensure that the focus of the programme will be kept and the quality of the delivery will be maintained. Unfortunately, when the scale is upgraded to include the whole nation, which will have to cover 27 provinces, in many instances the programme lacks supportive infrastructures. The local government may not be well informed about the programme, and the dualism between *Kantor Wilayah* (Ministerial Provincial Office) and *Kantor Dinas* (Local Authority Office – under the Ministry of Internal Affairs) may affect the monitoring and the implementation of the programme. And the mere fact that the local government may not be ready financially, or in terms of human resources, will also affect the programme.

Infrastructure

Reviews of available provisions have revealed several basic problems, such as the number and quality of learning materials, teacher/tutors' qualification, as well as their remuneration and transportation.

▩ Learning materials

In almost all literacy programmes, both government and non-governmental, learning materials are scarce. Even when a programme was first designed to facilitate independent learning, the modules are not owned individually by the participants, either simply due to limited printing or ill distribution. As described earlier, this shortcoming has put the programme in jeopardy. The problem gets even more serious when one scrutinizes the quality of the learning materials. Most learning materials for alternative education are still designed with a lack of sensitivity to the needs of the local participants. This is not a serious problem when the programme follows the path of a regular school; but when it caters for the disadvantaged groups and operates in an out-of-school system, it should ultimately consider specific contexts of the target group. For example, many children served by the Out-of-school Programme are working part-time or full-time. In other words, when they study the learning materials, most of them are very tired. In such conditions, only learning materials that combine fun activities and learning would be most appropriate (Arus and Hestyanti, 1998). Previous reviews showed that 'regular books' were used in non-regular programmes. Budget limitation and diversity of target groups, however, may be the main sources of the problem still to be resolved.

▩ Teacher/tutor qualification and remuneration

The experiences of the government-sponsored programmes, either through Package B or OJSS, suggest that it is difficult to recruit

mathematics and English language teachers/tutors. Other than that, the overall qualifications of the tutors in all programmes are not yet satisfactory. Apart from the fact that training is not scheduled for all tutors, only minimal requirements were imposed in the recruitment process. It should also be noted that there might not be as many applicants as the government would like, since the job does not offer much. It is important, therefore, that the government thinks of other ways to appreciate its tutors, other than minimum fees and a certificate of acknowledgment. Unless the government offers a competitive appreciation, the programme will not be successful owing to a lack of competent tutors.

It may sound like a cliché, but there is, nonetheless, a need to once again stress the importance of using in-group tutors as one of the prerequisites for a successful programme. This is especially true for very isolated or very exclusive groups, such as in remote areas and among street children. The ability of tutors to merge into the lives of those they serve helps them to strategically find ways to motivate and deliver the education effectively.

- Transport

Isolated communities in remote and geographically difficult areas are among those who mostly take benefit from alternative forms of education. Transport is both limited and, on many occasions, naturally restricted. The case in the inner-land of Kalimantan exemplifies the problem. With the advancement of technology, the radio band and other means of communication may be considered as alternatives for the future.

Working pupils

Many participants in alternative education are working children. Attending school for them, financially, means loss of income and the incurred school-related expenses. These are indeed among the major

reasons behind student absenteeism and drop-out. The idea of partially subsidizing the costs has, therefore, proved to be relatively effective in overcoming the problem.

Finding time to study is another problem for these children. Their jobs may require different shifts, overtime work on top of the physical burden, and large-scale mobility. Flexible study time for these children is consequently imperative. However, flexible time brings its own risks. The child may study in such a flexible way that progress would be too slow and, in the end, study might lose its appeal. Moreover, the group tutoring requires the members of the group and the tutor to come to an agreement on the timetable, which is not always easy.

Variations in occupational and educational background, and individual ability, result in great diversity within a study group. Such heterogeneity is usually quite problematic for a tutor. Although present programmes assume the ability of tutors to handle such complexities, nonetheless, a concerted effort to minimize diversity and to raise awareness and understanding among tutors and teachers with regard to the diversity of their prospective students, would not only be beneficial for teachers/tutors but also to their students.

Contextual vocational training

All vocational programmes naturally need to be put in the context of the business world. Without basic effort to meet the demand of the market, any vocational training programme will lose its effectiveness. Examination of this matter has proved this argument.

Challenges

In most cases, alternative education provided by the state has only been boosted formally since 1994, very recently, although the

government declared six years' compulsory education in 1988, and OJSS was launched as a pilot project in 1979. There is little information on why it took so long to materialize, except that in 1994 the government proclaimed nine years' universal education. What may be learned from the short experience of the above-mentioned government programmes is summarized below.

The programmes are well received by the beneficiaries. Although one may not be able to conclude anything, due to lack of information, the Package programme, for example, is regarded as a long-overdue government initiative. This is, of course, without putting aside the limitations that are embedded in the programme. The authors have observed that many community organizations are ready to adopt parts of the model.

One should remember, however, that to help children acquire basic literacy skills at the ES level is relatively easier than to step up one more level. The learning materials at ES level are also more manageable by tutors.

In the context of nine years' universal education, it is important that concerted effort should be equally invested to help the 30 per cent of children aged 12 to 15 years who do not continue, nor complete, JSS. Most of these children live in rural areas where the JSS is rather remotely located. In addition, parents of these children will consider that the opportunity costs of sending their children to JSS will be much higher than if sending them to the labour market. As a result, the number of participants is significantly lower than for programmes for ES level, since many of these children have engaged in some kind of work arrangement. In many instances, girls will be in the most disadvantaged position.

One way to tackle this problem is through cross-subsidy, in which better-off families help the poor ones. This cannot happen when the community is not fully aware of the benefits of higher education and

see that better education for children will, in the end, help improve the well-being of the whole community. It is important to explain to the community, however, what is meant by subsidy. When one talks about subsidy, one should mean the gap between what the parents are ready to spend for the education of their children and the actual costs. Many members of the community often have a misconception about the subsidy being in full support for the total costs required. Many parents pulled their children out of school not because they could not pay the monthly school fee (Rp.5,000/month), but because they could not make up the difference between what they had (for instance, Rp.4,000) and the required monthly school fee. Sometimes they might be able to pay for the monthly fee, but had no extra income to cover other costs (books and transport). Parents and the community may also help in the form of in-kind goods and services to lower school costs. But all of this, of course, requires that they trust the authority and the school administration.

The authors also observed that in the past three decades there had been very minimal efforts by the government to involve the private sector. Business social responsibility had not been positively promoted although, in the growing economy, its potential for contributing to the national education programme is tremendous. A number of experiences on the implementation of literacy programmes in business establishments (Mboi and Irwanto, 1998) showed that the private sector could contribute, within the context of its own interest, to have more qualified human resources, which would help the company cultivate loyalty, higher job satisfaction, and trainable employees. A similar framework could be introduced to draw more participation from the private sector.

In order to boost participation from NGOs, meanwhile, the GOI should support their efforts in a real sense. The tendency of the GOI to ridiculously compete with NGOs and treat NGOs as the state's enemy has to be abandoned. It is true that hard-liner NGOs may adopt

different perspectives with regard to the problem, but most of them deal with sub-populations that are untouchable by government programmes. In that case, they act as partners of the state. On the other hand, NGOs need to acknowledge the specific role of the GOI, and, therefore, their limitations. Education, especially for the disadvantaged, is not a battlefield, therefore all concerned parties should exercise partnership and respect for each other's role in serving the needy.

Miscellaneous issues

Apart from the above issues, there are still other concerns in the provision of alternative education for the young disadvantaged.

Certification

Certification is an important issue within the Indonesian education system, both for the regular and the alternative education. The need to have a certificate of mastery or graduation has, in many instances, undermined the education itself.

Reviews of available information have showed that both in government and non-governmental programmes, either literacy or vocational, certification is more of an ego-booster than a quality assurance. Of course nothing is wrong in building children's self-esteem. A certificate is indeed one way to open up opportunities for disadvantaged children and to return them to the mainstream society. It becomes a problem when it is a mere certification which does not reflect the quality of the bearer. It is also a problem when it extends the stigma for the bearer as in the case of the recently launched certification programme for Package A and B graduates. The larger community sees the bearer as having a lower quality of education, who is thus restricted from entering the mainstream. The latter case shows that such certification is useless, since its civil effect is contrary to the intended.

Linkages

Bintang Pancasila Foundation has applied innovative linkages among its literacy programmes with the local education authority and closest regular schools. In doing so, it ensures that the pupils receive the 'regular' tests and that they are ready to join the mainstream. Other providers may follow the initiative; however, further study would be needed before one could confidently conclude that such linkage is most useful in other settings too. Given the nature of the YBP initiative, which is very personal (the link was built on a personal approach), one should first consider the particular situation in which linkages are about to be built. Would that be needed and why? How could that be done effectively and efficiently?

National legislation

As indicated earlier, children are not masters of their own fate. In many instances they are victims of the larger system in the society. Many young girls are prevented from entering higher education since they are married at a very young age (Irwanto et al., 1998) or sent to the commercial sex industry. In that regard, one should look at the laws that govern and define childhood. According to the Child Welfare Law (No. 4/1979), a child is defined as an individual below 21 years old or who is not married. A broken marital relationship will not rehabilitate the childhood status of the person. As indicated by the Marriage Law (No. 1/1974), a girl may be married at the age of 16 years or younger when consented to by her parents (19 years for boys). As described earlier, in many rural areas in Java, girls are married after they have had their first menstruation. In most cases, such girls will drop out from school and lose their access to education, more than any disadvantaged groups. Their status is awkward; they are too young to join adult literacy programmes, yet they are no longer children, able to join their peers in other

programmes. Most importantly, they cannot enter any in-school alternative programmes, such as OJSS. Addressing the needs of this group, thus, necessitates to review and reform national legislation in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which has been ratified by the GOI (Presidential Decree No. 36/1996).

Rate of return on educational investment

There is no study on the social or private rate of return of any form of alternative education. However, combining the data on the regular school's SRR[23] and various information (e.g. drop-out rate, low motivation, average to low achievement) from the implementation of all forms of alternative education, one may conclude that target groups and their immediate communities have not seen the value of enrolling a child in such programmes. In other words, its SRR is quite low. Why?

Previous sections should provide insights to answer the question. Here the authors only need to pinpoint the urgency to address the issue. As long as the society does not see that joining an educational programme, with or without paying direct or indirect costs, is a good investment for its future, the focus of such provision is blurred. What would it get from such useless programmes?

Wasted opportunities

The above discussion has brought us to the issue of school wastage. Again, there is no study on alternative education wastage as yet. Nonetheless, information on the high rate of drop-out in the provision indicates that similar conditions as in the mainstream system might apply. It seems that the problem of the mainstream education has been spreading into the alternative system. An out-of-focus

23. Social Rate of Return. Please see glossary for more explanation of the term.

curriculum, low quality of learning processes, low quality of teacher/tutor, and so on and so forth. The alternative system just recycles the problem when a child drops out or does not continue his/her mainstream education, joins the alternative system, and again drops out. In this regard it is worth considering how much wasted resources might have been taking place, especially when resources are very limited such as in the Indonesian case.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS: RECONSTRUCTING ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION

What is an alternative education? What is the target of an alternative education? What should be included in the curriculum of an alternative education for the disadvantaged?

Closing the authors' review on alternative education for the young disadvantaged group in Indonesia has forced them to raise the above questions and contemplate the answers. Discussion among selected NGOs serving the group (Arus and Hestyanti, 1998) suggested that it should focus more on the fulfilment of Article 29 of CRC. More specifically, they argued that it should (i) provide opportunities for children to actualize their potential; (ii) nourish gender equality and an interdependency perspective[24]; (iii) develop a sense of belonging and responsibility as citizens of their country, part of a culture/ subculture, and the global world; (iv) develop responsibility in natural and environmental conservation so as to maintain healthy humankind. Basic literacy is indeed included here, so are survival and vocational skills. But there still seems something lacking.

Without analyzing the applicability of those assertions for larger segments of our society, let us return to the current condition. The lack falls in the area of the attitudinal domain of education. The reality suggests that disadvantaged groups need to develop their ability to bounce back from adversities, and it means much more than what is already included in the present curriculum, even in the present overall education system in Indonesia. The authors suggest that the focus of alternative education for the young disadvantaged should be redefined. Moreover, it is suggested that concerted and serious

24. Meaning an acceptance that people live side by side, despite their differences, and help each other, as no one could live on his/her own isolated from the rest of the world.

effort should be directed to improving the quality and effectiveness of the mainstream system so as to reduce school wastage. Redundant alternative programmes could then be reduced as the internal efficiency of regular school is increased. Alternative education should be targeted on those who have difficulty to access regular school, such as in isolated communities, and contain both basic literacy plus other components of education which could help develop resilience.

In future provision, the alternative education curriculum and learning methods should more seriously attend to the specific needs of the young disadvantaged groups, mostly economically active children. It means that more appropriate curriculum design is imperative to enable children to study more independently within their limited time. Of parallel importance is, then, the need to create learning methods that foster a happy lifelong learning attitude.

Combining the above-mentioned aspects of the new direction of alternative education with the effort to ensure quality of the provision, one would conclude with a call for the quality of the teacher/tutor/instructor. As long as teaching alternative education is regarded as a social merit, rather than a professional job, it will be extremely difficult to aim at quality provision. Doing the job seriously takes a lot of time and effort and it needs to be sufficiently rewarded.

Lastly, reconstruction of alternative education should be supported by data and thorough research. Yet it is another obstacle along the way, urgently waiting to be resolved.

APPENDIX 1

Net enrolment rate in ES, JSS, and SSS by province, 1998

Provinces	Elementary S	Junior Secondary S	Senior Secondary S
D.I Aceh	93.1	57.7	35.4
North Sumatera	93.8	63.2	47.0
West Sumatera	92.4	61.7	47.5
Riau	94.2	58.7	33.4
Jambi	90.8	52.2	28.1
South Sumatera	91.4	54.6	32.7
Bengkulu	92.4	50.0	34.6
Lampung	92.3	56.7	29.4
DKI Jakarta	92.7	75.8	64.2
West Java	92.7	54.1	34.1
Central Java	94.2	60.5	35.1
DI Yogyakarta	94.1	71.0	57.2
East Java	92.2	58.8	37.3
Bali	93.6	67.8	50.3
West Nusa Tenggara	91.1	49.4	27.2
East Nusa Tenggara	87.8	34.1	23.7
East Timor	70.1	33.9	21.2
West Kalimantan	88.5	40.8	25.4
Central Kalimantan	93.5	45.9	26.4
South Kalimantan	92.6	51.9	30.2
East Kalimantan	92.4	57.8	43.2
North Sulawesi	90.2	54.8	37.1
Central Sulawesi	90.0	48.3	27.2
South Sulawesi	86.9	48.2	32.7
North-East Sulawesi	90.5	56.6	37.3
Maluku	91.1	56.7	40.9
Irian Jaya	80.0	42.4	31.2
Indonesia	**92.3**	**56.9**	**37.2**

Source: Sakernas (1998).

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APPENDIX 2

Programmes Summary:
'Alternative education strategies for young disadvantaged groups in Indonesia'

1. Government programme: MOEC, MOM, MOSA

(please refer to the main text for complete structure of available programmes)

	Organization responsible	Curriculum	Students	Learning method/ Materials
Visiting teacher model	Currently the MOEC Office of Research and Development	1994 National Curriculum	7-12 year-old children at a very small village in an isolated area	Package books for regular school, modules for small size ES, other additional materials; Teachers visit 2-3 times/week
OJSS	Directorate General of General Secondary Education (MOEC)	1994 National Curriculum	11-18 years old, dropped out of JSS or equivalent level of education, priority for 13-15 year-olds in difficult circumstances	Special modules; Flexi-time with 1-2 regular meetings/ tutorials per week (equal to 6 contact hours)
PBH	Directorate General of General Out-of-School Education (MOEC)	Designed specifically by MOEC, includes reading, writing, simple arithmetic and Indonesian language	7-44 years old with no education or dropped out at grade 1-3 ES	100 graded modules, studied in a group of 10-30 persons, assisted by 1 tutor. Tutorial is at least twice a week

Tutor/ Teacher/ Instructor	Finances	Challenges
Teachers from ES base school; Tutors are mostly local people; skilled staff teaches relevant applied skills	Provincial authority (*Pemda*) provides boat and fees; MOEC provides learning materials and learning kiosk maintenance; local community supplies in natura for building the learning kiosk	• During dry season teachers have to walk a long and difficult track, resulting in a short visit (once a month of 8 consecutive days) and its following consequences: • No skilled staff was actually ever hired, skills were taught by tutor/teacher; • The nomadic communities require children to move around with their parents.
Tutors (not responsible academically) are members of community, teachers are from the JSS base school	No direct costs to be borne by students, operational costs are under the responsibility of MOEC with the assistance (loan) of ADB	• Remuneration for teachers and tutors → recruitment problem especially for mathematics, science and English subjects; • Provision and distribution of learning materials; • Financial burden of children/families disrupt the increased frequency of meetings/tutorials; • High drop-out rate; • Deviating practices → monitoring problems.
Minimum completed ES level of education, able to master the modules.	Free of charge for participants, even compensated with a small amount of money for joining the programme	• Recruitment of participants and maintain their participation; • Tutors as volunteers, very small allowance.

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1. Government programme: MOEC, MOM, MOSA
(continued)

	Organization responsible	Curriculum	Students	Learning method/ Materials
PA&B	Directorate of Out-of-School Education (MOEC)	1994 national curriculum	PA: 6-8 year-old children who have not been enrolled in school, and 9-12 years who dropped out from ES PB: children who have completed ES (or its equivalent) or dropped out from JSS	Modular form, upon completion student takes an ES/JSS equivalent exam/PA&B special examination Flexible group tutorial meeting
Entreprenecurship IGA	Directorate of Community Education (MOEC)	Tailor made	Minimum requirement: basic literacy, majority of participants are parents	Participants form a group with shared interest, developing an income-generating activity as a study project. Small amount of soft loan is offered to start an IGA
Vocational training centre	Directorate General for Promotion of Training and Productivity (MOM)	International standard for certification of similar skills, consists of 70% practical work and 30% of theory	The lowest requirement: for MTU is 10 years of age and basic literacy (since the move towards GOI ratification of ILO Convention No.138, the minimum age has moved up to 15 years)	4 different learning paths: institutional based, MTU, apprenticeship and technician training (the last is not discussed as the minimum requirement of participants is SSS level of education)
Vocational training	MOSA	Part of social rehabilitation program	Juvenile delinquents under MOSA custody	Joining MOM's VTC

Tutor/ Teacher/ Instructor	Finances	Challenges
Tutors recruited by MOEC from local community. Minimum educational background is the same level as the package under his/her responsibility, however most tutors have SSS level of education, but not all of them are trained to be a tutor	No direct costs to be borne by students, small amount of stipend for those joining the programme Allowances for tutors vary according to the administrator of the provision, but basically it is quite low	• Boring and tiring programme for economically active children; little or no support from parents; • Competing with his/her need to get additional income, very small compensation for tutor results in: (1) less effort to do the job; (2) difficulties to recruit a tutor for certain more marketable fields of study (e.g. English); • Weak inter-agency co-operation, limitation of the role of MOEC as the co-ordinator/facilitator; • Inaccuracy of budget projection, resulting in deterrent of extra number of students to take the equivalency examination
Recruited by MOEC, basically the same tutor for IEP and PA&B	Free for participants, all operation costs are borne by MOEC; soft loans are provided through another budget scheme	• No clear direction as it is not well-planned and managed
Minimum requirement: SSS level of education, recruited by MOM according to skills	Initial provision was assisted by international agencies, but operational costs are mostly borne by MOM, with support from the private sector whenever relevant	• No well-rounded national master plan for industrial development which could direct HRD planning within the boundary of VTC provision; • Lack of data for evaluating and developing the provision; • Low qualification of instructors; • Bureaucracy; • Low participants' learning capacity; • Limited budget, resulting in tools/machinery maintenance deficiency.
(please refer to MOM's VTC)	MOSA (shared with MOM)	• Low applicability of skills (mostly outdated).

2. Non-governmental institutions

	Organization responsible	Curriculum	Students	Learning method/ Materials
Basic literacy	NGO (e.g. Muhammadiyah - Weleri, Paramitra)	Fully adopt PA&B and 1994 national curriculum	Working children	Modules of PA&B and supplementary materials. Tutorial meetings are very flexible (time, place, frequency). Upon completion they will take government examination and are basically ready to return to mainstream education
	NGO (e.g. Bahtera)	Adopt PA&B with some adaptation to the specific context of the target group (e.g. street children)	Working children	Specifically constructed modules and/or learning materials. Tutorial meetings are very flexible (time, place, frequency)
	NGO (e.g. Humana)	Highly tailor made, aiming at very minimal reading, writing and simple arithmetic ability	Mostly for street children	No specific modules, very much contextualized to individual children's life/experiences
Survival skills	NGO and others	Tailor made, covers various issues such as harm reduction, personal hygiene, etc.	Children in need of special protection (including high-risk groups)	Special training/workshop sessions, some with special modules

Tutor/ Teacher/ Instructor	Finances	Challenges
Activists of NGO, mostly untrained to be a tutor, semi-volunteers	Free for children. All operational costs are borne by NGO, in many cases with the support of funding agency. Equivalent examination finances are under GOI responsibility	• Tutors for PA&B often do not have any teaching experience and are non-specialists in certain subjects; very minimal training provided by MOEC; • Similar challenges with MOEC PA&B programme (e.g. high drop-out rate, etc.).
Activists of NGO, mostly untrained to be a tutor, semi-volunteers	Free for children. All operational costs are borne by NGO, in many cases with the support of funding agency	• There is hardly any evaluation on the effectiveness of the provision; • In view of its intended objective of provision, its greater flexibility, however, may result in superficiality of educational practice, both on the participants' and tutor's sides.
Activists of NGO, mostly untrained to be a tutor, semi-volunteers	Free for children. All operational costs are borne by NGO, in many cases with the support of funding agency	• Being embedded in a more holistic programme to improve children's street survival and self-concept, the method for basic literacy education is somewhat neglected; • Unsystematic accounts reveal the superficiality of the educational practice, both on the participants' and tutor's sides, resulting in questionable output (of basic literacy).
Mostly specialized trainer	Free for children. All operational costs are borne by NGO, in many cases with the support of funding agency	• Still a limited provision as it is very much based on project.

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2. Non-governmental institutions
(continued)

	Organization responsible	Curriculum	Students	Learning method/ Materials
Vocational training	NGO	Tailor made, covers various skills such as carpentry, braiding, etc.	Working children	Mostly practical, flexible teaching-learning processes
	Private sector	Some follow GOI standardization, some create their own curriculum or adopt from other sources.	All segments of community and not very accessible to the young disadvantaged, due to financial issue	Various, mostly classical based

Tutor/ Teacher/ Instructor	Finances	Challenges
Mostly NGO activists	Free for children. All operational costs are borne by NGO, in many cases with the support of funding agency	• Provision is almost solely based on NGO limited capacity concerning trainer, limited network with other resources; • Marketing children's products; • Childr motivation: regarded more as recreational, rather than productive activities; • Inferior attitude of trainer.
Mostly trained persons	Not free of charge, the young disadvantaged are only able to access it through scholarship scheme which is sometimes offered	• Unaffordable for the young disadvantaged, thus GOI should urge such establishment to increase its scholarship programme; • Overlapping, as well as unclear, role of MOEC and MOM.

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The book

In 1994, the government of Indonesia made it one of its priorities to provide all children with an education of at least nine years' duration. Thanks to the implementation of this policy, enrolment rates increased considerably, and since then enrolment of primary-school-age (7-12 year-old) children has consistently been higher than 90 per cent.

Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that many children may not be able to participate fully in school, due to work or other reasons. In addition to this, a significant percentage of these children are likely to drop out of school – especially after grade 3 or 4 of elementary school. The picture is even bleaker for the 13-18 year-olds. According to current statistics, 30-60 per cent of this age group is no longer in school – a situation likely to be further aggravated by the present monetary crisis, and which may well compromise national goals in the coming millennium.

This study is an outline of existing educational programmes for disadvantaged youth, managed and delivered by government institutions as well as by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). An overview of each of the programmes run by government institutions is provided, and several of the programmes run by NGOs are presented as examples of best practices. Various issues such as certification, linkages, and national legislation are discussed, as well as the challenges that these imply for the future.

Alternative education for disadvantaged youth in Indonesia

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